M
6601

97

5.V. 27

CESSOLIS, J. de

WELLCOME LIBRARY
General Collections
M
6601

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/b21781060

WELLCOME
LIBRARY
INSTITUTE

The holy apoſtle and doctour of the peple ſaynt
t Poule ſayth in his epyſtle. Alle that is Wryten
is Wzyten vnto our doctryne and for ouz ler-
nyng. Wherfore many noble clerkes haue endeuoyred
them to Wryte and compyle many notable Werkes and
hiſtoryes to the ende that it myght come to the knoWlege
and vnderſtondyng of ſuche as hey ygnoraunt. Of Which
the nombre is infenyte/And accordyng to the ſame ſaith
Salamon. that the nombre of foles. is infenyte, And
emong alle other goody Werkys. It is a Werke of ryght
ſpeciall recomendacion to enforme and to late vnderſtonde
Wyſedom and Vertue vnto them that be not leznyd ne can
not dyſcerne Wyſedom fro folye. Thene emonge Whom
theze Was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royame
of fraunce of the ordre of thoſpytal of Saynt Johns of
Jheruſalem Which entended the ſame and hath made a
book of the cheſſe moralyſed. Which at ſuche tyme as I
Was reſident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam
in to my handes, Which Whan I had redde and ouerſeen/
me ſemed ful neceſſarye for to be had in engliſſhe/ And
in eſcheWyng of ydelnes And to thende that ſome Which
haue not ſeen it /ne vnderſtonde frenſſh ne latyn. I dely-
bered in myſelf to tranſlate it in to our maternal tonge/
And Whan I ſo had achyeued the ſayd tranſlacion, I
dyde doo ſette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym,
Which anone Were depeſſhed and ſolde. Wherfore by cauſe
thys ſayd book is ful of holſom Wyſedom and requyſyte
vnto euery eſtate and degree, I haue purpoſed to
enprynte it/ ſheWyng therin the figures of ſuche perſons

as longen to the playe. In whom al astates and degrees ben comprysedn / besechyngn al them that this litel werke shal see / here, or rede to haue me for excusedn for the rude & symple makyng and reducyn in to our englisshe / Andn where as is defaute to correcte and amende / and in so doyng they shal deserue meryte andn thanke, andn I shal pray for them, that god of his grete mercy shal rewarde them in his euerlastyngn blisse in heuen, to the whiche he brynge vs, that wyth his precious bloodn redemedn vs Amen

This book is deuydedn and departed in to four traytyes andn partyes.

The first traytye

How the playe of the chesse was fyrst founden
and vnder what kyngn capitulo . . . j
Who fond first the playe of the chesse capitulo . ij
Wherfore the play was founden andn maad Capitulo iij

The second traytye

The forme of a kyng of his maners and estate ca j
The fourme & maners of a quene ca . ij
The condicions & forme of the alphyns ca iij
The ordre of chyualrye or knyghthode
her offyces and maners capitulo iiij
The forme and maner of rookes capitulo v

The third traytye

The offices & maners of labourers Capitulo j
The manez & offyce of a ſmyth capitulo . . ij
Thoffyce of notaries/aduocates.ſcriueners and drapers or clothmakers capitulo iij
The maners of marchauntes & chaungers capitulo iiij
The forme of phiſicaens . leches ſpyers and apotycaryes capitulo v
Of tauerners. hoſtelers & vitaillers capitulo vi
Of kepers of townes . Receyuers of auſtum and tollenars capitulo vij
Of meſſagers . auzwuzs . Rykaudes and players at the dyſe capitulo viij

The fourth traytye

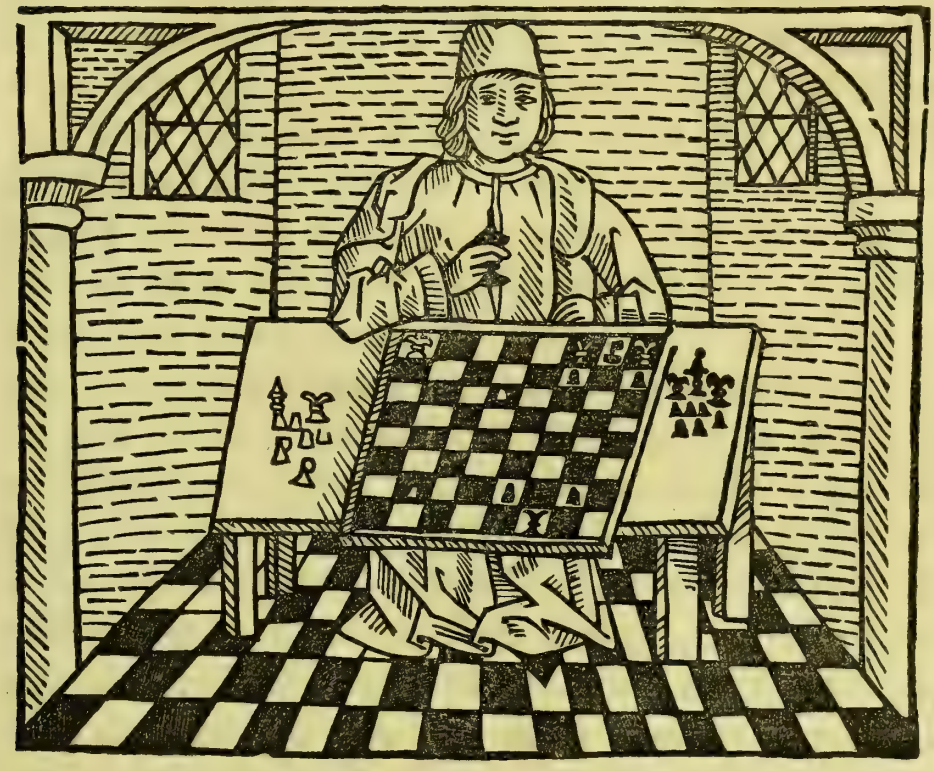
Of the cheſſe borde in genere how it is made capitulo j
The draught of the kyng and how he meueth hym in the eſchequez capitulo ij
Of the moeuyng of the quene and how ſhe yſſueth out of her place capitulo iij
Of the yſſue of the Alphyns capitulo iiij
Of the meuyng of the knyghtes capitulo v
Of thyſſue of the wokis & of her prozceſſe capitulo vj
Of thyſſue of the comyn peple/ whom the pawnes repreſente capitulo vij
Of the epilogacion and recapitulacion of thys book capitulo viij

This first chapitre of the first tractate sheweth vn-
der what kyng the playe of the Chesse was foundey and
maady . Capitulo primo

Monge alle the euyl condicions & signes that may
a be in a man the first and the grettest is . Whan he fe
reth not ne dredeth to displese & make wroth god by synne
& the peple by lyuyng disordonatly / Whan he retcheth not·
nor taketh hede vnto them that repreue hym and his vy-
ces / But fleeth them· In suche wyse as did the emperour
nero· Whiche did do slee his mayster seneque / for as moche
as he myght not suffre to be repreuyd & taught of hym. in
like wise was sōtyme a kyng in babilon that was named

Enylmerodach a Jolye may Without Juſtyſe and ſo cru-
el that he did do hewe his faders body in thre hondred pieces
and gaf hit to ete and deuoure to thre hondred byrdes that
men calle Voultres / And Was of ſuche condicion as Was
Nero / And right Wel reſemblid and Was lyke vnto his
fader Nabugodonoſor · Whiche on a tyme Wold do ſlee all
the ſage and Wiſe men of babilone · For as moche as they
coude not telle hym his dreme that he had dremyd on a
nyght and had forgoten hit like as hit is Wreton in the
byble in the book of danyel· Vnder this kyng thēne Enyl
merodach Was this game and playe of the cheſſe foundē ·
TreWe it is that ſōme men Wene/that this play Was foū
den in the tyme of the bataylles and ſiege of troye · But
that is not ſo / For this playe cam to the playes of the
Caldees as diomedes the greek ſaith and reherceth / that
amonge the philoſophres Was the moſt renomed playe a
monge al othez playes · And after that cam this playe
in the tyme of alixandez the grete in to egypt and ſo vnto
alle the parties toWard the ſouth · And the cauſe Wherfore
this playe Was ſo renomed ſhal be ſayd in the iij chapitre/

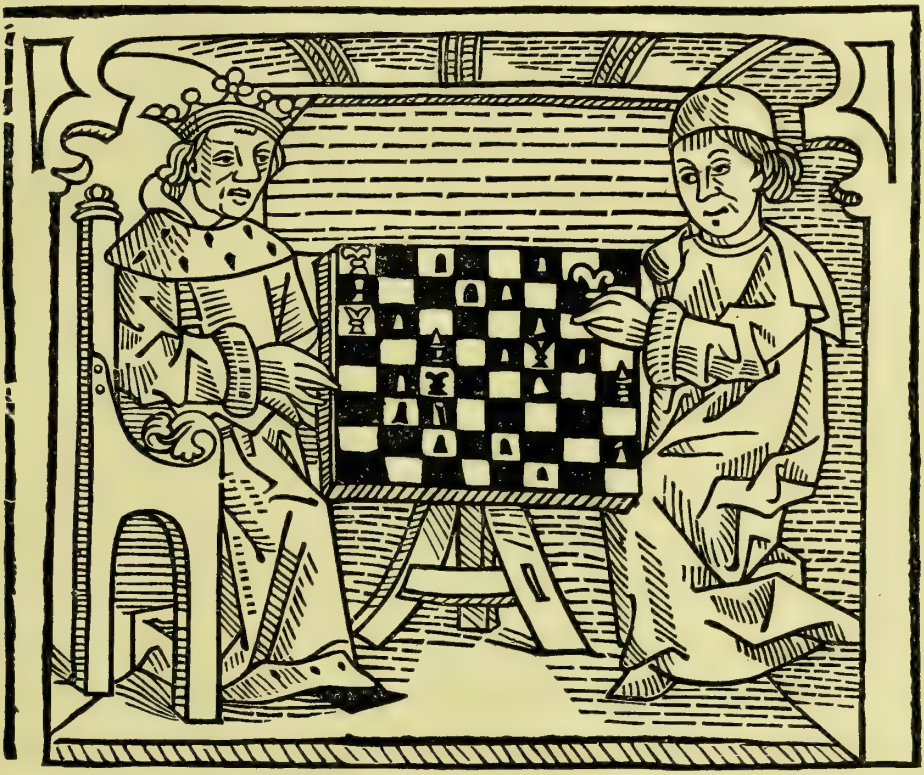
This chappytre of the fyrſt tractate ſheWyth Who fondy
fyrſt the playe of the Cheſſe. Capitulo ij



His playe fonde a phyloſopher of thozyent Whyche
t Was named in caldee Eyerſes or in greke philemez
toz Which is as mocke to ſay in engliſſh as he that louyth
Juſtyce and meſure / And this philoſopher Was renomed
gretly among the grekes and them of Athenes Whyche
Were good clerkys and phyloſophers alſo renomed of theiz
connyng / This philoſopher Was ſo Juſt and treWe that he
had leuer dye / than to lyue longe and be a fals flatezer
With the ſayde kyng / Foz Whan he behelde the foul & ſyn:
ful lyf of the kyng · And that no man durſt blame hym

For by his grete cruelte he put them al to deth that disple sid him. He put hym self in parel of deth, and louydꝫ & chees rather to dye than lenger to lyue. The euyl lyf and disfamed of a kyng is the lyf of a cruel beste. and ought not longe to be susteynedꝫ, for he destroyeth hym that disple sith him. And therfore reherceth Valerius. that there was a wyse man named theodore cerem whom his kyng dyd do hange on the crosse for as moche as he repreuydꝫ hym of his euyl & foul lyf, and alwey as he was in the torment he sayd to the kyng. Upon thy counceyllours andꝫ theym that ben cladꝫ in thy clothyng and robys were more reson that this torment sholdꝫ come, for as moche as they dar not say to the the trouth for to do Justyse rightwyslye, of my self I make no force whether I dye on the londꝫ or on the water or otherwyse / As who sayth he retched not to dye for Justyce. In like wyse as democreon the philoso=pher put out his owne eyen by cause he woldꝫ not see that no good myght come to the euyl andꝫ vycious peple wyth out right, And also defortes the philosophre as he went toward his deth. His wyf that folowed after hym saydꝫ that he was dāpned to deth wrongfully. thēne he answerdꝫ and saydꝫ to her. holde thy pees andꝫ be stylle, hit is better and more meritorye to dye by a wrong & vnrightful Ju=gement, than that I had deserued to dye.

The thyrd chapitre of the first tractate treteth Wherfore the playe Was founden and maad Capitulo iij



The causes Wherfore this playe Was founden ben iij

t. The first Was for to correcte and repreue the kyng for Whan this kyng enylmewdach ſaWe this playe / And the lawns · knyghtes and gentilmen of his court playe Wyth the philoſopher / he merueylled gretly of the beaulte and noueltee of the playe . And deſired to playe agaynſt the philoſopher / The philoſopher anſWerd and ſayd to hym that hit myght not be doon / but yf he firſt lernyd the play The kyng ſayd hit Was reſon and that he Wold put hym to the payn to lerne hit / Than the philoſopher began to

teche hym/ and to shewe hym the maner of the table of the chesse borde and the chesse meyne. And also the maners & the condycions of a kyng of the nobles and of the comyn peple and of theyr offyces and how they shold be touchyd & drawen/ And how he shold amende hym self and become vertuous/and when/this kyng herde that he repreuyd hym he demaundeth hym vpon payn of deth to telle hym wherefore he had founden and maad this playe/ and he answerd my right dere lord and kyng .the grettest and most thyng that I desire is that thou haue in thy self a glorious and vertuous lyf. And that may I not see/but yf thou be endoctrined and wel manerdy and that had.so mayst thou be beloued of thy peple . Thus than I desire that thou haue other gouernement thēne thou hast had .& that thou haue vpon thy self fyrst seignourie & maistrie suche as thou hast vpon other by force and not by right/ Certeynly hit is not right that a man be maister ouer othez & comaūdour whē he can not rewle noz may rewle hym self and that his vertues domyne aboue his vyces/ for seignourie by force and wylle may not longe endure/Thenne thus may thou see oon of the causes why and wherfore I haue founden & maad this playe .Whiche is for to correcte and repreue the of thy tyrannye & vicious lyuyng .for all kynges ought specially to here her corrigiouzs oz correctours and her correccions to holde and kepe in mynde . In like wyse as Valerius reherceth that the kyng alixandre had a noble and renomed knyght that sayd in repreuyng of Alixandre that he was to moche couetous & in especial of the honours of the world/ And sayd to hym yf the goddes had maade

thy body as grete as is thy herte . Alle the Worldy coude not holde the .for thou holdeſt in thy right honde al the ozy ent, and in thy lifte honde the occident.ſith than hit is ſo oz thou art a god oz a man oz nought . yf thou be god . doo than Wel and good to the peple as god doth.and take not from them that they ought to haue and is theyres . Yf thou be a man thynke that thou ſhalt dye .and than thou ſhalt doo noon euyl , yf thou be nought forgete thy ſelf . There is no thyng ſo ſtronge and fezme . but that ſumtyme a feble thyng caſteth douy and ouerthrowe hit . How Wel that the lyon be the ſtrengeſt beeſt , yet ſomtyme a lityl byrde eteth hym. The ſecond cauſe Wherfore this playe Was founden and maad . Was for to kepe hym from ydleneſſe , Whereof ſeneque ſayth Vnto lucylle ydlenes Without ony occaſion is ſepulture of a man lyuyng , and Plato ſaith in his ſentences that in lyke Wyſe as men goo not for to goo, the ſame Wyſe the lyf is not gyuen for to lyue but for to doo Wel and good.& therfore ſecondly the philoſopher fond this playe for to kepe the peple from ydlenes , for there is moche peple Whan ſo is that they be fortunat in Worldly goodes that they draWe them to eaſe & ydlenes Whereof comyth ofte tymes many euyllis and grete ſynnes ,and by this ydlenes the herte is quenchyd Whereof comyth good deſperacion . The thyrd cauſe is that euery man naturelly deſireth to knoWe and here no uelteees and tydynges . for this cauſe they of Athenes ſtudyed as We rede , and for as the corporal or bodelye ſight enpeſſheth and letteth otherWhyle the knoWleche of ſubtyl thynges. Therfore We rede that democrite the

philoſopher put out his owen eyen, For as moche as he myght haue the better entendement and vnderſtondyng. many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkis in like wyſe as was didimus byſſhop of alixandrie. that how wel that he ſawe not. yet he was ſo grete a clerke/that gregore nazaz and ſaynt Jerome that were clerkes and mayſters to other cam for to be his ſcolers and lernyd of hym. And ſaynt anthonye the grate hermyte cam for to ſee hym on a tyme, and emonge alle other thynges, he demaunded hym yf he were not gretly dyſpleſid that he was blynde & ſawe not. and he anſwerd, that he was gretly abaſſhyd for that he ſuppoſid not that he was not diſpleaſid in that he had loſt his ſight, and ſaynt anthonye anſwerd to hym J mer uaile moche that hit diſpleſith the that thou haſt loſt that thyng whiche is comyn betwene the and beſtes. and thou knoweſt wel that thou haſt not loſt that thyng that is co myn betwene the and the aungellis, And for thiſe cauſes forſayd the philoſopher entended to put awey al penſifnes and thoughtes. and to thynke onely on this playe as ſhal be ſayd and appere in this/book after.

The ſecond tractate / the firſt chapiter treteth of the forme of a kyng of his maners & of his eſtate Capitulo primo

The kynge muſt be thus maad .for he muſt ſytte t in a chayer clothyd in purpure / cowbned on his heed in his right hond a ceptre and in the lift honde an apple of golde / for he is the moſt gretteſt and hyeſt in dygnyte a-boue al other and moſt Worthy / And that is ſignyfyed by the cowne .for the glorie of the peple is the dygnyte of the kyng / and aboue al other the kyng ought to be re-plenyſſhed With vertues and of grace .and this ſignyfieth the purpure / For in like Wyſe as the robes of purpure ma keth fayr and enbelliſſheth the body. the ſame Wyſe vertues

makyth the ſoWle / he ought alWey thynk on the gouerne
ment of the Wyame & Who hath thadmynyſtracion of Juſ:
tyce / and this ſhold he by hym ſelf pryncipally / This ſig:
nefyeth the apel of golde that he holdeth in his lift honde/
and for as mocke as it apertayneth vnto hym to punyſſhe
the rebelles hath he the ſceptre in his right hond . And for
as mocke as myſericorde and trouth conſerue and kepe the
kyng in his trone / Therfore ought a kyng to be merciful
and debonayr · for Whey a kyng or prynce deſireth or Wyl
be beloued of his peple lete hym be gouerned by debonayrte
And Valerius ſaith that debonayrte perceyth the hertes of
ſtraungers / and amoliſſheth and makyth ſofte the hertes
of his enemyes. Wherof he rehercith that phyloſtratus that
Was duc of athenes had a doughter . Whom a man loued
ſo ardantly / that on a tyme as he ſaWe her With her moder
ſodaynly he cam and kyſſed her . Wherof the moder Was ſo
angry and ſorouful that ſhe Went and requyred of her lord
the duc / that his heed myght be ſmyten of . The pryncc
anſWerd to her and ſayd .yf We ſholde ſlee them that loue
vs . What ſhal We do to our enemyes that hate vs . Cer:
teynly this Was the anſWer of a noble & debonayr pryncc
that ſuffred that Vylonye doon to his doughter & to hym
ſelf yet more ·This pryncc had alſo a frende that Was na
med ariſte that ſayd on a tyme as mocke Vylonye vnto
the pryncc as ony man myght ſaye.And that myght not
ſuffyſe hym .but he cratchid hym in the viſage.the pryncc
ſuffryd hym paciently in ſucke Wyſe as though he had doon
to hym no Vylonye but curteſye . And Whan his ſones
Wold haue auengyd this Vylonye . he comaunded them

that they shold not be so hardy so to dooo / The next day folowyng Arispe remembrid of the right grete vylonye that he had doon to his frende and lord without cause / He fyl in dyspayr and wold haue slayn hym self / Whan the duc knewe and vnderstood that . he cam to hym and said ne doubte the no thyng . and swore to hym by hys faith that also wel he was and shold be his frend fro thā forthon as euer he had ben tofore yf he wold / and thus he respited hym of his deth by his debonayrte / and in lyke wise rede we of the kyng pirre to whom was reported that they of tarente had sayd grete vylonye of hym . for which cause he maad al them to come tofore hym & demaunded of them yf they had so said . than one of them answerd & said yf the wyn & the candellis had not fayled thys langa ge had ben a Jape . in regarde of that we had thought to haue doon / Than the kyng began to lawhe . For they had confessyd that suche langage as was said and spoken was by dronkenshyp / And for this cause of debonayrte the peple of tarente tooke for a custome that the dronken men shold be punysshid / and the sobre men preysed / The kyng thenne thus ought to loue humylite and hate falsyte after the holy scripture that speketh of euery man generally . For the kyng in his royame representeth god & god is verite . and therfore hym ought to say no thyng but yf hit were verrytable and stable / Valerius reherceth that Alyxandre wyth alle his ooste rood for to destroye a cyte whiche was named lapsare / Whan than a phy- losophre whyche had to name anaxymenes whych had ben tofore maistre & gouernour of alixādre herd & vnderstood

of his comyng, cam agayn alixandre to desire and requyre of hym. And Whan he sawe alixandre he supposid to haue ayyd his request / Alixandre brake his demaunde tofore and swore to hym to fore he ayid ony thyng by his goodes that suche thyngs as he ayyd or requyred of hym. he Wold in no Wyse doon. Thenne the philosopher requyred hym to destroye the cyte Whan Alixandre Vnderstood his desyre & the oth that he hath maad. he suffrid the cyte to stonde and not to be destroyed/ ffor he had leuer not to do his Wyll than to be periured and forswory and doo ageynst his oth Quyntilian sayth that no grete man ne lordy sholdy not swere. But Where as is grete nede /andy that the symple pawle or Worde of a prynce ought to be more stable thenne the oth of a marchaunt, Alas Who kepe the prynces their promyses in thyse dayes. not onely her promyses but their othes her seals and Wrytynges and signes of theyr pro= pre handes / alle faylleth god amende hit /

A kyng also ought to hate all cruelte / For We rede that neuer dyed yet ony pietous person of euyl deth. ne cruel persone of good deth / Therfore recounteth Valerius that there Was a man namedy therile a Werkman in metalle, that maad a boole of coppre and a lityl Wyket on the syde Wherby men myght put in them that sholdy be brent therin And hit Was maad in suche manere. that they that shold be put andy enclosydy therin sholdy crye no thynge lyke to the Voys of a man but of an oxe.

Andy thys maady he by cause men sholdy haue the lasse pyte of them / Whan he had maady thys boole of coppez. he presentyd hit Vnto a kyng Whiche Was called philarde

that was so cruel a tyraunt that he delitedꝫ in no thynge but in cruelte. And he tolde hym the condicion of the bole whan philerde herde and vnderstood thys. he alowedꝫ and praisid moche the werke/and after sayd to hym/thou that art more cruel than I am/shalt assay and proue first thy presente and yefte/and so maad hym to go in to the boole andꝫ dye an euyl deth/ Therfore sayth ouyde there is no thyng more resonable thenne that a man dye of suche deth as he purchaseth vnto other. Also the kyng ought soueraynly kepe Justyce/who maketh or kepeth a royame with out Justyce. of verry force there must be grete robberye & thefte. Therfore reheceth Saynt Augustyn in a book whyche is intituled the cyte of god/that there was a theef of the see named diomedes that was a grete rouar & dydꝫ so moche harme that the complayntes cam tofore alixander whiche dyd hym to be taken andꝫ brought afore hym/ Andꝫ he demaunded hym wherfore he was so noyous and cruel in the see/ Andꝫ he answerdꝫ to hym agayn/ For as moche as thou art oon a londe in the worlde. so am I another in the see/ But for as moche as the euyl that I doo is in oon galey or tweyn therfore I am callyd a theef But for as moche as thou doost in many shyppys andꝫ wyth grete puyssaunce andꝫ power. Therfore arte thou callydꝫ an Emperour. But yf fortune were for me in suche wyse/ I woldꝫ become a goodꝫ man andꝫ better thenne I now am/But thou the more rycher andꝫ fortunat that thou art/ The more worse art thou/ alyxaunder saidꝫ to hym I shal chaunge thy fortune in suche wise as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by pouerte

but for euyl and mauayſte.and ſo he made hym ryche /and this Was he that afterWard Was a good prynce & a goody Juſtiáer, The kyng ought to be ſoueraynly chaſte /and this ſignefyeth a quene that is oonly on his right ſide. For it is to be beleuyd and credyble that Whan the kyng is a good may / Juſte treWe and of good maners & con= diáons that his childrey ſhal foloWe gladly the ſame.for a good ſone and a treWe ought not to forſake and goo fro the good condiáons of his fader / for certes it is agayuſt god and nature in partye Whan a may taketh other thēne his propre Wyf / and that ſee We by byrdes .of Whom the male and female haue to gyder the charge in keppyng and noriſſhyng of their yonge foWles and byrdes. For ſomme maner of foWles kepen them to their females oonly / As hit apeareth by ſtorkes doWues and turtils .But tho foW les that noriſſheth not their birdes haue many Wyues and femels / As the ok that no thyng noriſſheth his chekens And therfore amonge al the beſtes that been / may and Woman putteth moſte their entente and haue moſt care & charge in noriſſhyng of their chyldren & therfore doy they agaynſt nature in partye Whan they leue theyr Wyues for other Women /of this chaſtete rehercith Valerius an exāple & ſaith that ther Was a may of rome Whyche Was named ſapio affricā for as moche as he had cōquerd affrique hoW Wel that he Was of rome bory.Whan he Was of xxxiiij yere of age he conquerd cartage & toke moche people in oſtage among Whom he Was preſented With a right fayr mayde for his ſolas & plaiſir Which Was aſſured & handfaſt Vnto a noble yonge gentilman of cartage Whiche Was named

Indiuiable / and anon as this gentil ſapio kneWe that not Withſtondyng that he Was a prynce noble & luſty / dyd do calle anon the parents & kynneſmen of them & delyuerd to them theiz doughter With out doyng of ony Bylonye to hez / And the raunſon or goldy that they had ozdeyned foz theiz doughtez . gaf hit euery deel in doWaire to her . and the yonge may that Was hez huſbond ſaWe the fraun chiſe & gentilnes of hym / tozned hym ſelf and the hertes of the noble peple Bnto the loue & alliaunce of the romay nes / & this ſuffiſith as touchyng the kyng

The ſecond chapitze of the ſecond book andy treteth of the forme and maners of the quene capitulo ſecundo

Hus ought the quene be maad / She ought to be
t a fayr lady sittyng in a chayer and crowned with a
corone on her heed and cladde with a cloth of gold and a
mantel aboue furrid with ermynes. and she shold sitte on
the lift side of the kyng for the amplexions and enbrasyn
ges of her husbond like as it is sayd in Scripture in the
Canticles. her lifte arme shal be vnder my heed and her
right arme shal beclyppe and enbrace me. In that she is
sette on his lifte side is by grace geuyn to the kynge by
nature and of right. For better is to haue a kyng by
successyon thenne by eleccion, For often tymes the elec-
tours and chosers can not ne wylle not accorde / And
so is the eleccion lest, And otherwhyle they chese not the
beste and most able and conuenyent / But hym that they
best loue, or is for them most proffytable,
But whan the kyng is by lignage and by trewe succes-
sion. He is taught enseygned and norisshyd in his
yougth all good and vertuous tatches and maners of his
fader. And also the prynces of the royame dar not so
hardyly meue warre agaynst a kyng hauyng a sone for
to reigne after hym / and so a quene ought to be chaste
wyse. of honest lyf. wel manerd and not Curious in
norysshyng of her chyldren, Her wysedom ought not
onely to appere in fait and werkes/but also in spekyng
that is to wete that she be secrete and telle not suche
thynges as ought to be holden secrete.
Wherfore it is comyn prouerbe that women can kepe
no counceyl / And accordyng therto Macrobe reherceth
in the book of the dremes of Scyppyo. That there was

a chyld of wome that was named papirus that on a tyme went with his fader which was a senatour in to the cham bre where as they helde theyr counceyl. And that tyme they spake of suche maters as was comaunded and a greed shold he kepte secret vpon payn of theyr hedes. and so departed /And whan he was comen home from the senatoyre and fro the counceyl with his fadez /His mo: der demaûded of hym what was the counceyl and whewf they spake and had taryed so longe there / And the chylde answerd to her and sayd he duzst not/ telle nor saye hit for so moche as hit was defended vpon payn of deth / Thenne was the moder moze desirous to knowe than she was to fore / And began to flatere hym one tyme / And afterwazd to menace hym that he shold saye and telle to her what it was / And whan the chylde sawe that he myght haue no reste of his moder in no wyse / He made her first promyse that she shold kepe hit secrete. And to telle hit to noon of the wozld / And that doon / he feyned a lesing oz a lye and sayde to her, that the Senatours had in counceyl a grete questi on and dyfference whiche was thys / Whether hit were bettez and moze for the comyn wele of Rome. that a man shold haue two wyues / Or a wyf to haue two hus: bondys / And whan she had vndezstonde thys / He defended hyr that she shold telle hit to none other body/ And after thys she went to her gossyb and tolde to hez thys counceyll secretely. And she tolde to another. And thus euezy wyf tolde hit to othez in seczete/ & thus hit happend anone after that alle the wyues of Rome

cam to the ſenatoyre Where the ſenatours Were aſſemblyd and cryed With ay hygh Voys .that they had leuer /And alſo hit Were ketter for the comyn Wele that a Wyf ſhold haue tWo huſbondys thay a man tWo Wyues , The ſena: tours heeryng this Were gretely abaſſhyd and Wyſt not to ſay , ner What /ner hoW to anſWere . tyl atte laſte that the child papire rehercæd to them all the caas and fayt hoW hit Was happend . And Whan the ſenatours herd and Vn: derſtood the mater they Were gretely abaſſhyd, & cõmendyd gretly the Jngenye and Wytte of the chyld that ſo Wyſely contryued the lye rather than he Wold diſcouere theiz coun: cyl . And forthWyth made hym a ſenatour , and eſtabliſ: ſhed and ordeyned fro than forthon that no chyld in ony Wiſe ſhold entre in to the coũcyl hoWs amonge them With their faders exæpt papirus·Whome they Wold that he ſhold alWey be amonge them . Alſo a quene ought to be chaſte For as ſhe is aboue al other in eſtate and reuerence . So ſhold ſhe be enſaumple Vnto al other in her lyuyng honeſt lye , Whero Jerome reherceth agaynſt Jonynyan . that there Was a gentyl man of rome named duele· and this man Was he that fizſt fond the manez to fight on the Wa: ter , and had fizſt the Victozye /This duele had to his Wyf one of the beſt Women and ſo chaſte . that euery Woman myght take enſaumple of her/and at that tyme the ſynne of the fleſſhe Was the grettest ſynne that ony myght do agaynſt nature/And this ſayd good Woman Was named ylie .And ſo hit happend that this duele became ſo olde that he ſtoWped and quaked for age. and on a tyme one of his aduerſayres repreuyd & repwchyd hym ſayeng that he had

a ſtynkyng breeth. And forthwyth he went home to hys wyf al angry and abaſſhyd/ and axed her why & wherfore ſhe had not tolde his defaute to hym that he myght haue foundey remedye to haue ben purged therof/& ſhe anſwerd that as for as moche as ſhe ſuppoſyd that euery man had the ſame faute as wel as he/ for ſhe kyſt neuer ony mannes mouth but her huſbondes. O moche was this woman to be prayſed and haue a ſyngulez laude wenyng that this defaute had not ben onely in hez huſbond/ wherfore ſhe ſuffryd hit paciently/in ſuche wiſe that hez huſbond knewe his defaute ſonner by other thenne by her. Alſo we rede that there was a wedowe named Anna/ whiche had a frende that counceylled hyz to marye. For ſhe was yonge fayr and ryche. to whom ſhe anſwerd that ſhe wold not ſo do in no wyſe/ for yf I ſhold haue an huſbond as I haue had & that he weze as good as he was. I ſhold euer ben aferd to loſe hym/lyke as I loſt that other. & thenne ſhold I lyue alwey in fere and drede. whiche I wyl not. And yf hit happend me to haue a wozſe. what ſhold hit proffyte me to haue an euyl huſbond after a good. and ſo ſhe concluded that ſhe wold kepe hez chaſtete/ Saynt Auſtyn reherceth in the book de Ciuitate dei that in rome was a noble lady gentyl of maners and of hygh kynzede named lucrecia/ And had an huſbond named Colatyne whiche deſired on a tyme the Empewuzs ſone named torquyne thorguyllous or the proude. and he was calle ſiyte foz to come dyne and ſpozte hym in his caſtel oz manoyr And whan he was entzed amonge many noble ladyes he ſawe lucrecia/ And whan thys empewuzs ſone had ſeen &

aduertysed her deportes. her countenaunce. her manere, & her beaulte. he was alle rauysshedy and esprysed wyth her loue forthwyth, And espyed a tyme whan her husbondy Collatyn wente vnto the oost of themperour. andy cam in to the place where as lucresse was with her felawshyp whom she receyued honourably. And whan tyme came to goo to bedde and slepe she maad redy a bedde rially for hym as hit apperteyned to the emperours sone. And this sixtus espyed where lucrecia laye. and whan he supposid & knewe that euery body was in his first sleep. he cam vnto the bedde of lucresse and that one hand sette on her breste andy in that other honde a nakyd swerd. and saydy to her. Lucresse holde thy pees andy crye not. For I am sixte tarquynus sone. for yf thou speke ony word thou shalt be dede, and for fere she helde her pees. Thēne he began to praye and promyse many thynges, and after he menaced and thretened her that she shold enclyne to hym to doo his wylle, and whan he sawe he coude nor myght haue his entente he sayd to her, yf thou do not my wylle, I shal slee the and one of thy seruauntis and shal lay hym alle deed by thy syde, And thenne I shal say that I haue slayn you for your rybaudrye. and lucresse that than doubtedy more the shame of the worldy than the deth. consentyd to hym, And anone after as the emperours sone was departedy. the lady sent lettres to her husbondy her fader her brethern and to her frendes and to a man callyd brute counceyllour and neuewe to tarquyn, andy saydy to them, that yesterday Syxte the emperours sone cam in to myn hows as an ene mye in liknes of a frende. and hath oppressyd me, Andy

knowe thou Colatyn that he hath dishonouryd thy bedde, And how wel that he hath fowled and dishonoured my bo=dy. yet myn herte is not, wherfore I beseche the of pardon foryefnes and absolucion of the trespas but not of the payne. And he that hath doon thys synne to me hit shal ben to his myschaunce yf ye doo your deuoyr. and bycause no woman take ensaumple of lucresse and lyue after the trespas. but that she in lyke wyse take ensaumple also of the payne. And forthwyth with a swerde that she helde vnder her gowne or robe, she roos her self vnto the herte And deyed forthwyth to fore them. and thenne brute the counceyller and her husbondy collatyn and alle her other frendes swore by the blood of lucresse that they wold ne=uer reste vnto the tyme that they had put out of rome tar quyn and al his lygne, And that neuer after none of them sholdy come to dygnyte. and al this was doon, For they bare the deed corps thrugh the cyte and meuydy the peple in suche wyse. That tarquyn was put in exyle. andy Syxte his sone was slayn. A quene ought to be wel manerd and amonge alle she ought to be tumerous andy Shamefast, For whan a woman hath lost shamefastnes she may ner can not weel be chaste. Wherfore sayth Sy=machus that they that ben not shamefast haue no consci=ence of luxurye, And saynt ambrose sayth that one of the best parementes and maketh a womman most fayr in her persone. is to be shamefast. Seneque reherceth that there was one named archezylle whiche was so shamefast that she put in a pelowe of fethers a certeyn somme of money. and put hit vnder the heed of a poure frende of

herys/ Whiche dissymyled his pouerte andy Wolde not noz durst not be a knowen of his pouerte. for shame she durst not gyue it openly. but had leuer that he sholdy fynde hyt than that she had gyuen hit hym. Wherfore otherWhile men shold gyue & helpe her frendes so secretly. that they knowe not Whens it come, for Whan We kepe it secret andy make no.boste therof. our dedes and Werkes shal please god and them also. A Quene ought to be chosen Whan she shal be Weddyd of the moste honest kynrede and peple/for often ty mes the doughters folowen the tatches & maners of theym that they ben dyscended from/Wherof Valeryus maximus sayth that there Was one that Wold marye. Whiche cam to a philosopher and axyd counceyl What Wyf he myght best take. he answerd that he shold take her that thou knowest certeynly that her moder & her grauntdame haue ben chaste and Wel condycioned. for suche moder/suche doughter co= munely/ Also a quene ought to teche her chyldren to ben contynent and kepe chasttie entierly. as hit is Wryten in ecclesiastes. yf thou haue sones enseigne andy teche them and yf thou haue doughters kepe Wel them in chastyte.

For helemonde reherceth that euery kynge & prynce ought to be a clerke for to comaunde to other to studye andy rede the lawe of our lordy god/ and therfore Wrote themperour to the kyng of fraunce that he shold do lerne his children sones the seuen sciences liberal/and saydy amonge other thynges that a kyng not lettrid resembleth an asse coro= ned/ Themperour octouyan maad his sones to be taught and lerne to swymme/to sprynge andy lepe/ to Juste/ to playe Wyth the aye and swerde/and al maner thyng that

apertεyneth to a knyght / and his doughters he made hem to lerne to ſeW + to ſpynne to labour as Wel in Wolle as in lynen cloth + and al other Werkis langyng to Women, And Whan his frendes demaunded Wherfore he dyd ſo + he anſWerd hoW Wel that he Was lordy and Syre of alle the World + yet Wyſte he not What ſhold befalle of his childrey and Whether they ſholdy falle or come to pouerte or noo / and therfore yf they conne a good crafte they may alWey lyue honeſtly + The Quene ought to kepe her doughters in alle chaſtyte + For We rede of many maydens that for theiz Vizgynyte haue ley maad quenes / For Poule the hiſto riagraph of the lombardes rehearſeth that ther Was a du: cheſſe named remonde Whiche had thre ſones & ij doughters And hit happend that the kynge of hongrye cantauus aſ ſayled a caſtel Where ſhe and her chyldrey Were Jnne / And oy a day ſhe beheld her enemyes / and amonge alle other ſhe ſaWe the kyng that he Was a Wel faryng and a goodly man + Anone ſhe Was eſpryſed and taken Wyth his loue + and that ſo ſore that forthWyth ſhe ſent to hym that ſhe Wold delyuer ouer the caſtel to hym yf he Wold take her to his Wyf andy Wedde her / And he agreed therto and ſWaze that he Wold haue her to his Wyf oy that con: dicion . Whan than the kyng Was in the caſtel / his peple took men and Women and alle that they fonde / her ſoones fledde from her/of Whome one Was namedy Ezmoaldus & Was yongeſt / and after Was duc of boneuentan & ſithen kyng of the lumbardis / andy the tWo ſuſters toke chy: kens and put hem Vndez her armes neyt the fleſſh andy bytWene her pappes / that of the hete and chauffyng the

flesſh of the chikyns ſtanke/ and Whan ſo Was that they of hongrye Wold haue enforced and defoWled anone they felte the ſtenche and fledde aWey and ſo lefte hem ſayeng fy hoW theſe lombardes ſtynke + and ſo they kepte theyr Virgynyte + Wherfore that one of hem afterWardꝛ Was quene of fraunce /andꝛ that othez quene of almayn/and hit happend thenne that the kyng catanus toke acordyng to his promyſe the ducheſſe / andꝛ lay Wyth her one nyght for to ſaue his ooth + & on the mozne he made her comune Vnto al the hungres /And the thyrd day after he dyd do put a ſtaf of tree fro the nethez pazte of hez . thrugh her body Vnto her throte or mouthe / foz by cauſe of the luſte of her flesſh ſhe ketrayedꝛ hez cyte andꝛ ſayd ſuche huſbondꝛ ſuche Wyf + and this ſuffyſeth of the quene

The thyrd chappytre of the secondꝫ traytye treteth of the Alphyns her offyces and maners capitulo tercio

The alphyns ought to be maad and formed in mane t re of Juges sittyngꝫ in a chayer Wyth a book open tofore theyr eyen, and that is by cause that sōme causes ben crymynel, And sōme ben cyuyle as about possessions and other temporel thynges and trespaces / andꝫ therfore ought to be two Juges in the royame / one in the black for the first cause, And that other in Whyt as for the secondꝫ. Theyr offyce is for to counceylle the kyng. And to make by his cōmaūdementis good lawes & to enforme

alle the wyame in good and Vertuous maners / And to Juge and gyue ſentence Wel and treWly after the caas is had . and to counceyl Wel and Juſtely alle them that aye counceyl of hem / Wyth out hauyng of ony eye opene to ony perſone / And to eſtudye diligently in ſuche Wyſe and to ordeigne alle that, that ought to be kept be obſerued be faſte and ſtable / So that they be not founde corupt . for yefte for fauour ne for lignage ne for enuye Variable . And as touchyng the firſt poynt Seneque ſaith in the book of benefets that the pouz diogenes Was moze ſtrong than alixandze / For Alixandze coude not gyue ſo muche as diogenes Wold zefuſe . Mazaus curſus a womayn of grete renomee ſaith thus . that Whan he had beſieged and aſſayled them of Samente / and beneuentans Which herde that he Was poure / they took a grete maſſe and Wedge of gold & ſendyd hit to hym prayeng hym that he Wold reſeyue hit and leue his aſſault and ſiege / and Whan they came With the preſent to hym they fond hym ſittyng on the erthe and ete his mete out of platers and dyſſhes of tree and of Wode . and did than her meſſage / to Whom he anſWerd and ſaid that they ſhold goo home and ſaye to them that ſente them that Mazaus curſus loueth better to be lord and Wynne richeſſes than richeſſe ſhold Wynne hym . For by batayle he ſhal not be ouercome and bayn : quyſſhed / nor by gold ne ſiluer he ſhal not be corupt ne corompid . Oftentymes that thyng taketh an euyll ende that is bntreWe for gold and ſiluer . and that a man is ſubget bnto money may not be lordy thewf / Helymondy reherceth that demoſtene demaũded of ariſtodone how moche

he had wonne for pletynge of a cause for hys client. And he answerde a mark of golde. Demostenes answerde to hym agayn/ that he had wonne as moche for to holde hys pees and speke not/thus the tunges of aduocates & men of lawe ben perilous & domegeable. yet they must be had yf thou wolt wynne thy cause. for with money and yefte thou shalt wynne. & oftentymes they selle as wel theyr silence/as their vtterance. Valerius reherath that the senatours of rome took counceil to gedre of two persones that one was poure & that other riche and couetous/ whiche of hem bothe were most apte for to sende to gouerne and Juge the contre of spayn/ And sappon of affrique saide that none of hem bothe weze goode ne profytable to be sent theder. For that one hath no thynge. And to that other may no thynge suffyse/ And despysede in hys sayenge alle pouerte and auarice in a Juge. For a couetous man hath nede of an halpeny. for he is seruaunt and bonde vnto money/ and not lorde therof/ but pouerte of herte and of wylle ought to be gretely alowed in a Juge/ Therfore we rede that as longe as the Romayns loued pouerte they were lordys of alle the worlde/ For many there were that exposed al theyr goodes for the comyn wele. and for that was most profitable for the comynalte that they were so poure that whan they weze dede they were buryed and brought to erthe with the comyn goode/ And theyr doughters were maryed by the comaundement of the senatours. but sithen that they despised pouerte/& begonne to gadre richesses. & haue made grete bataylles. they haue vsed many synnes/ and so the

comyn Wele perissshed/for ther is no synne but that it reig neth there/there is none that is so blysful as he that hath al the World in despite / For he is in pees that dredith no may /& he is riche that coueiteth no thyng/Valere rehercæth that he is not riche that moche hath/but he is riche that hath lityl & coueyteth no thyng/than thus late the Juges take hede that they enclyne not for loue or for hate in ony Ju: gement /for theofrast saith that all loue is blynde ·there loue is ·there can not right Jugement be gyuen . for all loue is blynde ·and therfore loue is none euyn Juge·for ofte tymes loue Jugeth a foWle and lothly Woman to be fayr / And so rehercæth quinte auzse in his first book that the grete godaches saith the same to Alyxandre / Men may saye in this caas that nature is euyl / For euery man is lasse aduysed and Worse in his oWne feet and cause than in another mannys·And therfore the Juges ought to kepe hem Wel from Ire in Jugement, Tullyus sayth that an angry and ywus persone Weneth that for to doo euyl is goody counceyl/and socrates saith that tWo thynges ben contrarious to counceyl / & they ben hastynes and Wrath ·and galeren sayth in Alexandrye , yf yze or Wrath ouercome the Whan thou sholdest geue Jugement / Weye all thyng in the balaunce so that thy Jugement be not enclyned by loue ne by yeft ·ne fauor of persone for ne not thy owage ·Helemody zehercæth that cambyses kyng of perce Whiche Was a right Wis kyng had an vn: rightWis Juge /Whiche for enuye & euyl Wyll had dâpned a may Wrongfully and agaynst right / Wherfore he dyd hym to be flayn al quyk and made the chayer or siege of

Jugement to ſe couerid Wyth his ſkyn/and made his ſone Juge and to ſitte in the chayer on the ſkyn of his fader. to thende that the ſone ſhold Juge ryghtWyſly / & abhorre the Jugement & payne of his fader. Juges ought to punyſſhe the defaultes egally/& fulfille the laWe that they ordeyne. Caton ſaith accompliſſhe and do the laWe in ſuche Wyſe as thou haſt ordeigned & geuen / Valerius rehercith that calen gius a conſul had a ſone Whiche Was taken in aduoultrye & therfore after the laWe at that tyme he Was dampned to loſe bothe his eyen. the fader Wold that the laWe ſholde be accompliſſhed in his ſone Wyth out fauour. but al the cite Was meuyd herеWyth and Wold not ſuffre hit / but in the ende his fader Was ſaynquyſſhed by theyr prayers. And ordeyned that his ſone ſholde leſe one eye Whyche Was put out. And he hym ſelf loſt an other eye. And thus Was the laWe obſeruyd and kept. And the prayer of the peple Was accompliſſhed. We rede that there Was a counceyllour of rome that had gyuen counceylle to ma: ke a ſtatute that Who ſome euer that entryd in to the ſe: natoyr and a ſWerde gyrt aboute hym ſhold be deed. Than hit happend on a tyme that he came from Without & entrid in to the ſenatoir & his ſWerd gyrt about hym. Whewf he toke none hede & one of the ſenatours told hym of hit / & Whan he kneWe hit & remēbrid the ſtatute he dreWe out his ſWerde & ſleWe hym ſelf tofore them. rather to dye than to breke the laWe / for Whos dethe alle the ſenatours maad grete ſoWe / But alas We fynde not many in thyſe day es that ſo do / But they do lyke as anaſtaſyus ſaith that the laWes of ſome ley like Vnto the nettis of ſpynoppis

that take no grete bestes and fowles but let goo andꝫ flee thrugh/but they take flyes ⁊ gnattes ⁊ suche smale thyn-ges / In like wise the lawes now adayes ben not execu-ted but vpon the poure peple + the grete ⁊ riche breke hit ⁊ goo thrugh with al /and for this cause sourden batailles ⁊ discordes ⁊ make the grete ⁊ riche men to take by force ⁊ strengthe lordshippis ⁊ seignories vpon the smale ⁊ poure peple /⁊ this don they specially that ben gentil of lignage ⁊ poure of goodes /⁊ causeth them to robbe ⁊ reue/ and yet constreyne them by force to serue them. ⁊ thys is no mer-uayle/for they that drede not to angre god , ner to breke the lawe ⁊ to false hit / falle often tymes by force in moche cursidnes ⁊ wickednes . but whan the grete peple do accor-dyng to the lawe/and punysshe the transgressours sharp-ly/ The comyn peple absteyne ⁊ withdrawe hem fro doyng of euyl and chastiseth hem self by theyr example / And the Juges ought to entende for to studye . For yf the smythes the carpentiers the vignours andꝫ other crafty-men say that it is not necessarye to studye for the comyn proffit/ And glorefye them in their cōnyng and say that they ben proffitable + than shold the Juges studye and con templaire moche more than they in that that sholdꝫ be for the comyn wele. Wherfore saith seneke beleue me that they seme that they do no thyng /they do more than they that laboure for they do spirituel ⁊ also corporal werkis . And therfore amōge artificers ther is no plesaūt rest/ but that reson of the Juges hath maad ⁊ ordeyned hit . ⁊ therfore anglius saith in/li/ atticorꝫ de socrate, that socrates was on a tyme so pensif that in an hole naturel day, he helde one

estate that he ne meued mouth ne eye ne foot ne hand but was as he had ben deed or rauysshed, and whan one demaũ ded hym wherfore he was so pensif. he answerd in al world ly thynges and labours of the same and helde hym bour= geys and Cytezeyn of the world, and valerius rehercith that carnardes a knyght was so sage wyse and laborous in pensifnes of the comyn wele, that whan he was sette atte table for to ete, he forgate to put his hondy vnto the mete to fede hym self, and therfore his wyf that was na medy Mellyse whom he had taken more to haue her compa= nye and felawshyp than for ony other thynge, Fedde hym to thende that he shold not dye for hongre in his pen= sifnes. Didimus sayd to alixandre we be not deynseyns in the world but straungers, nor we ben not born in the world for to dwelle and abyde alwey therin. but for to goo and passe thrugh hit. we haue doon noon euyl dede. but that it is worthy, to be punysshed & we to suffre payne therfore, and thenne we may goon with open face & good conscience. And so may we goo lightly and appertly the way that we hope and purpose to goo. Thys suffyseth as for the Alphyns,

The fourth chapitre of the ſecond book treteth of the ordre of cheualrye and knyghthode and of her offyces and maners capitulo quarto

The knyght ought to be maad al armed vpon ay
t hors in ſuche wiſe that he haue ay helme on his heed and a ſpere in his right hond / & couerd with his ſhelde / a ſword & a mace on his lyft ſyde . clad with ay hawberk & plates tofore his breſte . legge harnoys on his legges . ſpo res on his heelis / on hys handes hys gauntelettes . hys hors wel broken & taught and apte to bataylle & coueryd with his armes . whan the knyhtes ben maad they ben bayned or bathed . That is the ſigne that they ſholde lede

a neWe lyf and neWe maners . alſo they Wake alle the nyght in prayers and oriſons Vnto god that he Wil geue hem grace that they may gete that thyngꝫ that they may not gete by nature / The kyng or prynce gyrdeth a boute them a ſWerde in ſigne / that they ſhold abyde and kepen hym of Whom they taken theiz diſpences and dignyte . Alſo a knyght ought to be Wyſe likewalle / treWe . ſtrong and ful of mercy and pyte and kepar of the peple and of the laWe / and right as chyualrye paſſeth other in Vertue in dignyte in honour and in reuerence / right ſo ought he to ſurmounte alle other in Vertue . for honour / is no thyng elles but to do reuerence to another perſone for the good & Vertuous diſpoſicion that is in hym / A noble knyght ought to be Wyſe and prouyd tofore he be maad knyght / hit behoued hym that he had long tyme Vſid the Wazre & armes . that he may be expert and Wyſe for to gouezne the other / For ſithen that a knyght is capitayn of a ba tayle . the lyf of them that ſhal be Vndez hym lyeth in his honde / and therfore behoueth hym to be Wyſe & Wel aduy ſed / For ſomtyme art craft and engyne is more Worthe than ſtrengthe or hardynes of a may that is not proued in armes / for other While it happeth that Whan the prynce of the batayl affyeth and truſteth in his hardynes and ſtrengthe / and Wol not Vſe Wiſedom and engyne for to renne Vpon his enemyes / he is Vaynquyſſhed & his people ſlayn . therfore ſaith the philoſopher that no may ſholde chefe yog peple to be captayns & gouezneurs / for as moche as ther is no certeynte in her Wiſdom / alixandre of macedo ne Vaynquyſſhed & conquerd Egipte / Jude / caldee Affrique

and assyrie vnto the marches of bragmans more by the counceyl of olde men than by the strengthe of the yongh men. We rede in the historye of rome that there was a knyght whiche had to name malechete that was so wyse & trewe that whan the emperour Theodosius was dede. He made mortal warre ayēst his broder germayn which was named Gyldo or Guye. for as moche as this sayd guye wold be lord of affrique with out leue and wylle of the senatours / and thys sayd Guy had slayn the two sones of his broder malechete, And dyd moche torment vnto the crysten peple, and afore that he shold come in to the felde ayenst his broder Guyon. he went in to an yle of capayre and ladde wyth hym al the cristen men, that had ben sent theder in exyle. And maad hem alle to praye with hym by the space of thre dayes and thre nyghtes. For he had grete affyaunce and truste in the prayers and orisons of good folke and specially that no man myght counceyl ne helpe but god / And thre dayes tofore he shold fight saynt Ambrose whiche was deed a litil tofore apperyd to hym & shewed hym by reuelacōn the tyme and howre that he shold haue victorye. And for so moche as he had ben iij dayes and thre nyghtes in orysons & prayers and that he was assuryd for to haue victorye, he faught wyth fyue thousand men ayenst his broder that had in his companye four score thousand men. and by goddes helpe he had victorye And whan the barbaryans that were comen to helpe guyon sawe the discomfiture they fledde awey And guyon fledde also in to affryque by shyppe. And whan he was there a ryued he was sone after stranglid. These two knyghtes

of whom I speke were two brethern germayns. whyche were sent in to affrique for to deffende the comyn wele. In lyke wyse Judas machabeus, Jonathas, and Symon his brethern put them self in the mercy and garde of our lord god, And ageyn the enemyes of the lawe of godz with litil people in regarde of the multitude that were agayn them, And had also victorye / The knyghtes ought to ben trewe to theyr prynces, For he that is not trewe leseth the name of a knyght. Unto a prynce trouth is the grettest precious stone whan hit is medlid wyth Justyce. Paule the historiagraph of the lombardes reher ceth that there was a knyght named Enulphus & was of the cyte of papye that was so trewe andz faythful to his lord and kyngz namedz patharche that he put hym in parylle of deth for hym, For hit happendz that Grymald duc of buneuentayns of whom we haue touchedz tofore in the chapytre of the quene. dydz do slee Godebert whiche was kyngz of the lombardes by the hande of goribert duc of tarente / whiche was descendedz of the crowne of lombardes. Andz this grymalde was maad kyng of lombardye in his place andz after this put and banysshed out of the contraye this patharich whiche was broder unto the kyngz Godebert. that for fere andz drede fledde in to hongrye. Andz thenne this knyght enulphus dydz so moche that he gate the pees agayn of his lord patharich agaynst the kyngz grymalde. And that he hadz licence to come out of hongrye where he was alwey in parell. andz so he came andz cryedz hym mercy / And the kyng Grymalde gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contre

alwey forseen that he took not vpon hym & namedꝫ hym self kyng. How wel he was kyng by right / This doon a lityl whyle after / the kyng that beleuyd euyl tongues / thought in hym self how he myght bryng this patharichе vnto the deth. and al thys knewe wel the knyght Enulphus / Whiche came the same nyght with his squyer for to vysite his lord. and maad hys squyer to vnclothe hym & to lye in the bedde of his lord / and maad his lorde to rise and clothe hym with the clothes of his squyer / Andꝫ in this wyse brought hym out. brawlyng and betyngꝫ hym as his seruaunt by them that were asignedꝫ to kepe the hows of patharich that he shold not escape / Which supposid that hit had been his squyer that he entreted so outragy: ously / and so he brought hym vnto his hows which Joyned wyth the walles of the toun. Andꝫ at mydnyght when al men were a slepe. he lete a doun his maistre by a corde. Whiche took an hors out of the pasture and fledde vnto the cyte of aast & there cam to the kyng of fraunce And whan it cam vnto the morne / hit was founden that enulphus and his squyer had deceyued the kyng and the watchemen / whom the kyng cōmaunded shold be brought tofore hym / andꝫ demaundedꝫ of them the maner how he was escapyd / andꝫ they tolde hym the trouthe / Thenne the kyng demaunded his counceyl of what deth they had deseruyd to dye that had so doon andꝫ wrought agayn the wylle of hym / Somme said that they shold ben hongedꝫ & sōme said they shold be flayn / andꝫ other saidꝫ that they shold be beheded. Than said the kyng by that lordꝫ that maad me. they ben not worthy to dye. but for to haue

moche Worſhyp and honour / For they haue ley treWe to theyr lord + Wherfore the kyng gaf hem a grete laWde and honour for theyr feet .And after hit happend that the pw pre ſquyer and ſeruaunt of Godeberd ſleWe the traytre Gorykalde that by treſon had ſlayn his lorde at a feſte of Saynt Johy in his cyte of tarente Wherof he Was lord and duc / Thus ought the knyghtes to loue to gyder + & eche to put his lyf in auenture for other.ffor ſo ben they the ſtrenger and the more doubted . lyke as Were the no ble knyghtes Joab and abyſay that fought ageynſt the ſyryens and amonytes and Were ſo treWe that one to that other that they Waynquyſſhed theyr enemyes / And Were ſo ioyned to gyder that yf the ſiriens Were ſtrenger thēne that one of them . that other helpe hym / We rede that damon and phiſias Were ſo right marfight frendes to gy der that Whan dionyſius Whiche Was kyng of zeálle had Jugged one to deth for his treſpaas in the cyte of Siracu : ſane Whom he Wold haue eyeauted .he deſired grace & leue to goo in to his contre for to diſpoſe & ordeyne his teſta ment/ And his felaWe pledged hym and Was ſeWrte for hym Upon his heed that he ſhold come agayn/Wherof they that herde and ſaWe this / held hym for a fool & blamed hym. And he ſayd alWey that he repentyd hym no thyng at all . For he kneWe Wel the trouth of his felaWe /and Whan the day cam and the houre that eyeauaon ſhold be doon . his feloWe cam and preſented hym ſelf tofore the Juge.and diſchargid his feloWe that Was pledge for hym Wherwof the kyng Was gretely abaſſhyd .and for the grete treuthe that Was founden in hym / he pardenyd hym and

prayed hem lothe that they Wold receyue hym as theyr grete frende and feloWe + lo here the vertues of loue/that a man ought not to doubte the deth for his frende / Lo What it is to do for a frende .and to lede a lyf delonayr / and to be Wyth out cruelte +to loue & not to hate /Whyche cauſeth to do good ayenſt euyl .and to torne payne in to benefete and to quenche cruelte . Anthonyus ſayth that Julius cæſar lefte not lightly frendſhyp and amytye / But Whan he had hit . he reteyned hit faſte & mayntened hit alWey . Sapion of affrique ſaith that there is no thyng ſo ſtronge as for to mayntayne loue Vnto the deth The loue of concupiſſence and of lecherye is ſone diſſol= uyd and broken . but the verray treWe loue of the comyn Wele and proffyt noW a dayes is ſelde founden / Where ſhal thou fynde a man in thyſe dayes that Wyl expoſe hym ſelf for the Worſhyp & honour of his frende /or for the comyn Wele / ſelde or neuer ſhal he be founden / alſo the knyghtes ſholde be large and liberal / For Whan a knyght hath re= garde unto his ſynguler prouffyt by his couetyſe + he dyſ poyleth his peple / For Whan the ſouldyours ſe that they put hem in pazel . and theiz mayſter Wyl not pay hem theyr Wages likewally / but entendeth to his oWne propre gayn and proffyt / than Whan the enemyes come they torne ſone her backes and flee often tymes/And thus hit happeth by hym that entendeth more to gete money than Vyctorye that his auarice is ofte tymes cauſe of his con fuſion / Thenne lete euery knyght take hede to be lyberalle in ſuche Wyſe that he Wene not ne ſuppoſe that his ſarcete be to hym a grete Wynnyng or gayn /And for thys cauſe

he be the lasse louyd of his peple .and that his aduersa=
rye wythdrawe to hym them by large geuyng + For ofte
tyme batayle is auaunced more for getyng of siluer, than
by the force and strengthe of men , For men see alle day
that suche thynges as may not be achyeuyd by force of
nature + ben goten and achyeued by force of money. And
for so moche it behoueth to see wel to that whan the tyme
of bataille cometh that he borowe not ne make no tayllage
For no man may be riche that leuyth his owne / hopyng
to gete and take of other / Than alwey al her gayn and
wynnyng ought to be comyn emong exept theyr armes
For in like wyse as the vyctorye is comune / so shold the
dispoyle and botye be comune vnto them , And therfore
dauyd that gentyl knyght in the first book of kynges in
the last chappytre made a lawe . that he that abode behynde
by maladye or sekenes in the tentes shold haue as moche
parte of the butyn as he that had ben in the batayle, And
for the loue of this lawe he was maad after ward kyng
of Israel , Alixandre of macedone cam on a tyme lyke
a symple knyght vnto the court of porus kyng of Ynde
for to espye thastate of the kyng and of the knyghtes of
the court , And the kyng receyuyd hym right worshyp=
fully .And demaunded of hym many thynges of Alix=
ander and of his constance and strengthe. nothyng we
nyng that he had ben alixander / but antygone one of
his knyghtes , and after he had hym to diner .and whan
they had seruyd alixander in vessayl of gold and syluer
with diuerse metes , After that he had eten suche as plesid
hym he voyded the mete & toke the vessayl and helde hit to

hym self and put hit in his bosom or sleuys . Wherof he was accusid vnto the kyng/After dyner thēne the kyng callyd hym and demanded hym wherfore he had taken hys vassayl /and he answerd + sir kyng my lord I pray the to vnderstonde and take hede thy self & also thy knyghtes I haue herd moche of thy grete hyghnes / and that thou art more myghty and puyssaunt in cheualrye and in dis pencis than is Alixaunder + and therfore I am come to the a poure knyght whiche am named Antygone for to serue the + Than hit is the custome in the courte of Alixander that what thyng a knyght is seruyd wyth / alle is hys mete and vaissel and cuppe . and therfore I had supposid that this custome had ben kept in thy court / for thou art richer than he / whan the knyghtes herde this / anone they lefte porus + and went to serue Alixaunder / and thus he drewe to hym the hertes of hem by yeftes / whiche after ward slewe porus that was kyng of ynde. and they maad Alixandre kyng therof + Therfore remembre knyght alwey that wyth a closid and shette purse shalt thou neuer haue victorye / Ouyde saith that he that taketh yeftes / he is glad therwyth / For they wynne wyth yeftes the her tes of the goddes and of men / For yf Jupyter were an grid + with yeftes he wold be plesid + the knyghtes ought to be stronge not onely of body but also in corage . there ben many stronge and grete of body / that ben faynt and feble in the herte / he is stronge that may not be vaynquys shed and ouercome + how wel that he suffrith moche other whyle / And so we beleue that they that be not ouergrete ne ouer litel ben most corageous and beste in bataylle /

We rede that cadrus duc of athenes ſhold haue a bataylle agayn them of polipe / And he was warned and had a re-uelacion of the goddes / that they ſhold haue the victorye of whom the prynce ſholde be ſlayn in the batayle . And the prynce whiche was of a grete corage and treWe herte took other armes of a poure man / and put hym ſelf in the fronte of the bataylle to thende that he myght be ſlayn and ſo he was / For the right treWe prynce had leuer dye / than his peple ſhold be ouercomen . and ſo they had the victorye / Certes hit was a noble and a fayr thynge to expoſe hym ſelf to the deth for to deffende his contraye / But no man wold do ſo but yf he hoped to haue a better thyng therfore / Therfore the laWe ſayth that they lyue in her ſoWles glorioufly that ben ſlayn in the warre for the comyn wele . A knyght ought alſo to be merciful & pietous / For there is no thyng that maketh a knyght ſo renomed as is when he ſauyth the lyf of them that he may ſlee / For to ſhede and ſpylle blood is the condicion of a Wylde beſte and not the condycion of a good knyght Therfore We rede that ſcilla that was duc of the romayns With out had many fair victories agaynſt the romayns & Within that were contrarye to hym in ſo mocke that in the bataylle of puylle he ſleWe xviij thouſand men . And in champayne lyx thouſand / and after in the cyte he ſleWe thre thouſand men Wnarmed . & When one of his knyghtes that was named Quyntus catulus ſaWe this cruelte ſayd to hym / Seſſe noW and ſuffre them to lyue and be merciful to them With Whome We haue ben victorious . & With Whom We ought to lyue / For it is the moſt hyeſt

and fair Vengeaunce that a man may do/as to ſpare them and gyue hem her lyf Whom he may ſle. Therfore Joab ordeyned Whan abſalon Was ſlayn .he ſoWned a trompette that his peple ſholdy nomore renne andy ſlee theyr aduerſaries / For there Were ſlayn about yy thouſandy of them. And in like Wyſe dyd he Whan he faught ayenſt Abner / and abner Was Vaynquyſſhed and fledde. For Where that he Went in the chaas he cõmaundedy to ſpare the people. The knyghtes ought to kepe the peple /for Whan the peple ley in their tentis or caſtellis. the knyghtes ought to kepe the Watche / For this cauſe the romayns callydy them legyons /and they Were made of dyuerſe prouynces andy of dyuerſe nacions to thentente to kepe the peple / Andy the peple ſhold entende to theyr Worke / For no crafty man may bothe entende to his crafte and to fight/HoW may a crafty may entende to his Werke ſeWrely in tyme of Warre but yf he be kept.and right in ſuche Wyſe as the knyghtes ſhold kepe the peple in tyme of pees in like Wyſe the peple ought to purueye for theyr diſpenas. hoW ſhold a ploW may be ſeWre in the felde/but yf the knyghtes made daply Watche to kepe them. For like as the glorye of a kyngy is Vpon his knyghtes / So it is neceſſarye to the knyghtes that the marchauntes crafty mey andy compy peple be defendedy and kepte / Therfore late the knyghtes kepe the peple in ſuche Wyſe that they may enioye pees and gete and gadre the coſtis and eypenas of them bothe. We rede that athis ſaydy to dauyd Whiche Was a knyght. I make the my kepar & defendar al Wey. thus ſhold the knyghtes haue grete zele that the laWe be kept. For the mageſte

Ryal ought not onely to be garnyſſhed Wyth armes but alſo Wyth good laWes . And therfore ſhold they labour that they ſhold be Wel kepte / Tuzgeus pompeus reherath of a noble knyght named ligurgyus that had made auncient laWes the Whiche the peple Wold not kepe ne obſerue for they ſemed hard for them to kepe / and Wold conſtreyne hym to rapelle & ſette hem aparte / Whan the noble knyght ſaWe that . he dyd the peple to Vnderſtonde that he had not made them . but a god that Was named apollo delphynus had made them / & had cõmaunded hym that he ſhold do the peple kepe them / thyſe Wordes auayled not / they Wold in no Wyſe kepe them . And than he ſayd to them that it Were good that or the ſayd laWes ſhold be broken that he had gyuen to them / that he ſhold goo and ſpeke Wyth the god Appollo / For to gete of hym a diſpenſacion to breke hem and that the peple ſhold kepe and obſerue them tyl that he retorned agayn / the peple accorded therto and ſWore that they ſhold kepe them Vnto the tyme he retorned / than the knyght Went in to greece in exyle and dWellyd there alle his lyf / And Whan he ſhold dye he cõmaunded that hys body ſholde be caſt in the ſee / for as moche as yf / his body ſhold be borne thider . the peple ſholde Wene to be quyt of theyr othe . and ſhold kepe no lenger his laWes that Were ſo good & reſonable . that the knyght had leuer to forſake his oWne contre & to dye ſo than to repele his laWes . and his laWes Were ſuche / The firſt laWe Was that the peple ſholde obeye and ſerue the prynces / And the prynces ſholde kepe the peple and doo Juſtyce on the malefactours . the ſecond laWe that they ſhold be al ſobre . For

ſe Wyſt Wel that the labour of cheualrye is moſt ſtronge Whan they lyue ſobrely/the thyrd Was that no man ſhold bye ony thyng for money but they ſhold chaunge Ware for Ware / and one marchaundyſe for another/ the fourth Was that men ſholde ſette nomore by money ner kepe hit more than they Wold dunge or filthe /the fifthe ſe ordeyned for the comyn Wele alle thynge by ordre / that the prynces myght meue and make bataylle by ſer power . to the maiſ ters counceilours ſe cõmyſed the Jugementis /and the annuel rentes /to the ſenatours the keppyng of the laWe . and to the comyn peple ſe gaf power to cheſe ſuche Juges as they Wold haue / the ſixte ſe ordeyned that alle thynge ſhold ſe departed egally & al thyng ſhold ſe comyn . & none richer thã other in patrimony/ the Vij that euery man ſhold eete lyke Wel in comyn openly . that richeſſe ſhold not ſe cauſe of luxurye Whan they ete ſecretly . the Viij that the yonge peple ſhold not haue but one goWne or garment in the yere /The ix that men ſhold ſette youre children to la = boure in the felde to thende that they ſhold not enploye theyr yongthe in playes and folye but in labourе . The tenthe that the maydens ſhold ſe maried Wythout doWaire in ſuche Wyſe that no man ſhold take a Wyf for money . The xj that men ſhold rather take a Wyf for ſer goody ma ners and vertues than for ſer richeſſes / the xij that men ſhold Worſhyp the olde and auncient men for theyr age and more for theyr Wyſedom than for ſer riches/This knyght made none of thyſe laWes but ſe firſt kepte hem/

The wokes Whiche ben Vycayrs and legates of the kynge / ought to be maad a knyght Vpon an hors & a mantel and hood furrid With meneuier holdyng a ſtaf in his hand / & for as moche as a kyng may not be in al pla ces of his wyame / therfore the auctorite of hym is gyuen to the wokes . Whiche repreſente the kyng . & for as moche as a wyame is grete and large / and that zebelkyon or noueltees myght ſourde and azyſe in one partye or other / therfore thez ben tWo wokes one on the right ſyde and that other on the lift ſyde / They ought to haue in hem pyte Juſtice / humylite . Wylful pouerte / and lyberalyte /

firſt Juſtyce for it is moſt fayr of the Vertues / For hit happeth ofte tyme that the mynyſtres by theyr pryde and ogueyl ſubuerte Juſtyce and doo no right / Wherfore the kynges otherWhyle loſe theyr wyames Wyth out theyr aulpe or gylte / For ay Vntrewe Juge or offycer maketh his lord to be named Vniuſte and euyl/& contrarye Wyſe a trewe mynyſtre of the lawe and rightWys/cauſeth the kyng to be reputed Juſt & trewe /The wmayns therfore maad good lawes and Wold that they ſhold be Juſte and trewe/and they that eſtabliſſhid them for to gouerne the peple . Wold in no Wyſe breke them /but kepe them for to dye for them/ For the auncient and Wyſe men ſaid comynly that it Was not good to make and ordeygne that lawe that is not Juſt . Wherof Valerius reherceth that there Was a man that Was named Themyſtydes Whiche came to the counceyllours of athenes and ſayd that he knewe a counceyl Whiche Was right proffytable for them But he Wold telle hit but to one of them Whom that they Wold. And they aſſygned to hym a Wyſe man named ariſtydes. And Whan he had Vnderſtonde hym he cam agayn to the other of the counceyl / and ſayd that the counceyl of themyſtides Was Wel proffytable/ but hit Was not Juſt /how be hit ye may reuolue hit in youre mynde / and the counceyl that he ſayd Was thys . that there Were comen two grete ſhippes fro lacedome and Were arrypued in theyr londe/& that hit Were good to take them / & Whan the cōceyl herde hym that ſayd / that hit Was not Juſte ner right/they left hem al in pees & Wold not haue a doo With al . the Vicair or iuge of the kyng ought to be ſo iuſt

that he ſhold enploye al his entente to ſaue the compy We le · and yf hit Were nede to put his lyf and loſe hit ther= fore / We haue ay enſaumple of marcus regulus Wherof Tullyus zeherceth in the book of offyces . And Sayne Auguſtyn alſo de Ciuitate dei. how he faught agayn them of cartage by ſee in ſhyppes and Was Taynquyſſhed and taken · Thay hit happend that they of cartage ſent him in her meſſage to wome for to haue theyr pryſoners there / for them that Weze taken . and ſo to chaunge one for another / And made hym ſWere and promyſe to come ageyn . And ſo he came to wome / and made propoſicion tofore the ſenate And demaunded them of cartage of the ſenatours to be chaunged as afore is ſayd / and than the Senatours de maunded hym What counceyl he gaf . certeyn ſayd he I counceyll yoW that ye doo hit not in no Wyſe . For as moche as the peple of wome that they of cartage holde in pryſon of yours / Bey olde men and bruſidy in the Warre as I am my ſelf / But they that ye holde in pryſon of theyr peple is alle the flouze of alle theyr folke Whyche counceyl they took. & than his frendes Wold haue holden hym & cõceilled them to abyde there & not retorne agayn priſoner in to cartage / but he Wold neuer do ſo / ner abyde but Wold goo agayn & kepe his oth / how Wel that he kne We that he Went toWard his deth / for he had leuer dye than to breke his oth / Valerius rehercith in the Vj book of one emelie duc of the womayns . that in the tyme Whan he hady aſſiegid the phaliſtes . the ſcole maiſtre of the childzen de= ceyuyd the childzen of the gentilmen that he dreWe hym a litil & a litil Vnto the tẽts of the womayns by fayr ſpeche

Andꝛ ſayd to the duc emelye + that by the moyan of the chyldren that he had brought to hym . He ſholdꝛ haue the cyte . For theyr faders were lordes and gouernours / Whan emelye hadꝛ herde hym he ſaid thus to hym / Thou that art euyl and cruel . And thou that woldeſt gyue a gyfte of grete felonye and of mauaſtrye , thou ſhalt ner haſt not founden here / duc ne peple that reſembleth the . We haue alſo wel lawes to kepe in batayle and warre/ as in our contrees and other places / And we wol obſerue and kepe them vnto euery man as they ought to be kept and we ben armedꝛ ayenſt our enemyes that wol defende them . andꝛ not ayenſt them that can not ſaue their lyf whan their contre is taken . as thiſe litil children , Thou haſt vaynquyſſhed them as moche as is in the by thy newe deceyuable falſnes ⁊ by ſubtilnes ⁊ not by armes, But I that am a romayn ſhal vaynquyſſhe thē by craſt ⁊ ſtrength of armes /Andꝛ anone he cōmaunded to take the ſaydꝛ ſcole maiſter andꝛ to bynde his handes behynde hym as a traytour and lede hym vnto the parentis of the chyldren, And whan the faders and parentes ſawe the grete curtoyſye that he hadꝛ doon to them ,They opened the yates and yeldedꝛ them vnto hym . We rede that Hanybal had taken a prynce of rome whyche vpon his othe ⁊ promyſe ſuffred hym to goo home ,⁊ to ſende hym his raunſon . or he ſhold come agayn with in a certeyn tyme / ⁊ whan he was at home in his place/he ſaid that he had deceyued hym by a falſe oth/Andꝛ whan the ſenatours knewe therof /they conſtrayned hym to retorne agayn vnto hanybal / Amos florus tellith that the phiſicien of kyng pirrus cam

on a nyght to fabrice his aduersarye/ and promysed hym yf he wold geue hym for his lalour that he wold enpoy-sone pirrus his maystez. Whan fabricius vnderstood this he dydz to take hym andz bynde hym handz and foot/andz sent hym to his maistre & dyd do say to hym word for word like as the phisicien had said and promysed hym to do / & Whan pirrus vnderstood this he was gretly admeruaylid of the loyalte and trouth of fabrice his enemye ' and said certeynly that the sonne myght lightlyer & sonner be en-pesshid of his cours . thenne fabrice shold be letted to holde loyalte andz trouthe . yf they than that were not crysten were so Juste and trewe and louyd theyr contrey & theyr good renomee · What shold we now doon than that been Cristen . andz that our lawe is sette al vpon loue andz charite / but now a dayes there is no thynge ellis in the world but/barate tresō/deceit falsenes & trecherye mē kepe not their couenauntes 'promyses . othes / Writynges / ne trouth/the subgettis rebelle agayn their lord . ther is now no lawe kepte / nor fydelyte / ne othe holden . The people murmure andz ryse agayn theyr lord andz wol not be subget / they ought to be pietous in herte / Whiche is a-uaylable to alle thyngz / There is pyte in effect by com-passyon / andz in worde by remyssyon andz pardon / By almesse . for to enclyne hym self vnto the poure / For pyte is no thyng ellis but a right grete wylle of a debo-nary herte for to helpe alle men / Valerius rehercith that there was a Juge named sangis Whiche dampned a wo-man that hadz deseruydz the deth for to haue her heed smy-ten of or ellys that she sholdz dye in pryson .

The Jayler that had pyte on the Woman put not her anon to deth but put her in the pryson + and this Woman hadꝫ a doughter Whiche came for to see andꝫ comforte her moder / But alWey or she entrid in to the prison the Jayler ser=chyd hyr that she shold bere no mete ne drynke to her mo=der . but that she shold dye for hongeꝛ + than hit happendꝫ after thys that he meruayled moche Why this Woman dy=ed not/ and began to espye the cause Why she leuyd so long And fonde atte laste hoW her doughter gaf soWke to her moder . and fedde her With her mylke/Whan the Jaler saWe thys merueyle /he Went and tolde the Juge / And Whan the Juge saWe this grete pyte of the doughter to the mo=der he pardonedꝫ her and made her to be delyuerd out of her pryson /What is that /that pite ne amolissheth /moche peple Wene that it is agaynst nature andꝫ Wondre that the doughtre shold gyue the moder to souke + hit Were agaynst nature but the children shold be kynde to fader andꝫ moder Seneka sayth that the kyng of bees hath no prykke to stynge Wyth as other bees haue / And that nature hath take hit aWay from hym by cause he shold haue none ar=mes to assayle them + and this is an example Vnto pryn ces that they shold be of the same condycion • Valerius re=hercith in his fifthe book of Marchus martellus that Whan he had taken the cyte of Syracusane / ꝛ Was sette in the hyest place of the cyte / he behelde the grete destruccyon of the peple and of the cyte /he Wepte ꝛ said, thou oughtest to be sorowful / for so moche as thou Woldest haue no pyte of thy self/But enioye the for thou art fallen in the hande of a right debonair prynce/ also he recoũteth When pompeeo

had conquerd the kyng of germanye that often tymes had foughten ayenſt the romayns / & that he was brought to fore hym bounden / He was ſo pyetous that he wold not ſuffre hym to be longe on his knees tofore hym . but he receyued hym auctoryſly . and ſette the crowne agayn on his heed and put hym in theſtate that he was tofore .
For he had oppynyon that it was as worſhypful and fittyng to a kyng to pardone / as to punyſſhe / Alſo he recæth of a counceyllour that was named poule that dyd do brynge tofore hym a man that was pryſoner / And or he kneled tofore hym he toke hym vp fro the grounde and made hym to ſitte beſyde hym for to geue hym good eſpe: raunce and hope / and ſayd to the other ſtondyng by / in thys wyſe / yf hit be grete nobleſſe that we ſhewe our ſelf contrarye to our enemyes. than this fete ought to be alo: wed that we ſhewe our ſelf debonayr to our caytyfs and priſoners / Ceſar whan he had the deth of cathon whiche was his aduerſarye ſayd that he had grete enuye of hys glorye . and no thyng of his patrymonye / and therfore he lefte to his chyldren frely al hys patrymonye / Thus taught virgyle and enſeygneth the glorious prynces to rewle and gouerne the peple of rome . and ſaynt Auſtyn de ciuitate dei ſayth thus / Thou emperour gouerne the pe ple pyetouſly / and make pees ouerall / deporte and forbere thy ſubgettis . reprene and correcte the prowde / For ſo enſeyne and teche the the lawes / And hit was wryten vnto alyaunder . that euery prynce ought to be pyetous in punyſſhyng / and redy for to rewarde / there is no thyng that cauſeth a prynce to be ſo belouyd of his peple . as whan

he spekyth to hem swetely + and concerwyth wyth hem sym ply + and al this cometh of the rote of pyte.
We rede of the emperour traian that his frendes repre-uydz hym of that he was to moche pryue and famulier wyth the comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be And he answerd that he wold be suche an emperour as euery man desyredz to haue hym, also we rede of alisaūder that on a tyme he ladde his hoost forth hastely / & in that haste he behelde where satte an olde knyght that was sore acolde, whom he dydz do aryse and sette hym in his owne sete or siege. What wondre was hit though the knyghtes desyred to serue suche a lorde that louyd better theyr helthe than his dignyte + The rookes ought also to be humble & meke + after the holy scripture whiche sayth, the gretter or in the hyer astate that thou art / so moche more oughtest thou be meker and more humble. Valerius reherceth in his vij book that ther was an emperour named Publius ce-sar + that dyd do bete doun his hows whiche was in the myddes of the market place for as moche as hit was hy-er than other howses / For as moche as he was more gloryous in estate than other + therfore woldz he haue a lasse hows than other, and scipion of affrique that was so poure of valuntarye pouerte that whan he was dede + He was buryedz at the dispencis andz costes of the comyn goodz, They sholdz be so humble that they shold leue theyr offyces / and suffre other to take hem whan her tyme co-meth + and do honour to other. For he gouerneth wel the royame that may gouerne hit whan he wyl. Valerius reher-cith in his iij book that fabyan the grete had ben maystre

counceyllour of his fader his grauntsire, And of his grauntsirs fader and of alle his antecessours, And yet dyd he al his payn and labour/that his sone shold neuer haue that offyce after hym. But for no thynge that he mystrusted his sone for he was noble and wyse and more attempered than other, but he wold that the offyce shold not alwey reste in the famylye and hows of the fabyans Also he reherceth in his seuenth book that they wold make the sayd fabyan emperour / But he excusyd hym & sayde that he was blynde and myght not see for age. But that excusacion myght not helpe hym, Than sayd he to hem / seke ye and gete you another, For yf ye make me your emperour/I may not suffre your maners/nor ye may not suffre myn. There was a kyng of so subtyl engyne that whan men brought hym the crowne tofore that he to-ke hit. he remembrid hym a litil and sayd. O thou crowne that art more noble thenne happy, For yf a kyng knewe wel and parfaytly how that thou art ful of parylles of thoughte and of charge, yf thou were on the grounde / he wold neuer lyfte nor take the vp/Remembre the that whan thou art most glorious. thenne haue sôme men moste enuye on the. And whan thou hast most seignorye and lordshyps / than shalt thou haue most care, thought and anguysshes, vaspasian was so humble that whan Nero was slayn alle the peple cryed for to haue hym emperour And many of his frendes came and prayed hym that he wold take hit vpon hym. So at the last he was con-streyned to take hit vpon hym. and sayd to hys frendys hit is better and more to prayse and alowe for a man to

take thempyre agaynst hys wylle than for to laboure . to haue hit and to put hym self therin / Thus ought they to be humble and meke for to receyue worshyp . therfore saith the byble that Joab the sone of saryne that was captayne of the warre of the kyng dauyd / Whan he cam to take and wynne a cyte . he sente to dauyd and desyred hym to come to the warre / that the victorye shold be geuen to Dauyd and not to hym self . also they ought to be ware that they chaunge not ofte tymes her offycers / Josephus re-herciith that the frendes of Tyberius meruaylled moche why he helde his officers so longe in theyr offyces wyth out chaunchyng . And they demaunded of hym the cause to whom he answerd I wolde chaunge them gladly . yf I wyst that hit shold be good for the peple / But I sawe on a tyme a man that was royneous and ful of sores . and many flyes satte vpon the sores and soukedy his bloody that hit was meruayle to see . wherfore I smote & chacedy them away / and he than sayd to me why chasest & smytest thou away thyse flyes that been ful of my blood / & now shalt thou lete come other that be hongrye which shal doon to me double payne more than the other dyd . for the prick of the hongry is more poygnaunt the half . thenne of the fulle / And therfore sayde he I leue the offycers in theyr offyces . For they ben al riche / and do not so moche euyll & harme / as the newe shold do and were poure yf I shold sette hem in her places. They ought also to be pacient in heryng of wordes and in suffryng payne on her bodyes . as to the first / one sayd to alisaunder that he was not wor-thy to reigne / specially whan he suffred that lecherye and

delyte to haue ſeignorye in hym /he ſuffrd hit paciently / And anſWerd none otherWyſe but that he Wold correcte hym ſelf/And take better maners and more honeſte, alſo hit is reherſed that Julyus Ceſar Was ballyd Whewf he had diſplaſir ſo grete that he kempt hys heeris that laye on the after parte of his heed forWard for to hyde the bare tofore . Than ſayd a knyght to hym Cezar hit is lightlier and ſoner to be maad that thou be not ballyd / than that J haue Vſid ony coWardyſe in the Warre of Rome /or here after ſhal do ony coWardyſe . He ſuffryd hyt paciently and ſayd not one Word . another repwchyd hym by his lignage .and called hym baker / he anſWerd that hit is better that nobleſſe begynne in me . than hit ſhold fayllē in me / another callyd hym tyraunt / he anſWerd yf J Were one thou Wolde not ſay ſo .A knyght callyd on a tyme ſappon of Affrique foWle & olde knyght in armes .And that he kneWe lytyl good . And he anſWerd J Was borne of my moder a lytyl chylde and feble and not a man of armes . And yet he Was at alle tymes one of the beſt and moſt Worthyeſt in armes that lyuyd Another ſayd to Paſmaſion/ & a Wolf ſhold sonez chaunge his ſkyn and heer . than thou ſholdeſt chaunge thy lyf . For the lengez thou lyueſt the more thou coueiteſt /and he anſWerd of thyſe Wordes We ought to laughe / But We ought to amende our ſelf / and punyſſhe the treſpaces / Seneke zeherceth that the kyng antygonus herde certeyn peple ſpeke and ſay euyl of hym .and theze Was betWene hem nomore but a couzyne /and than he ſayd make an ende of your euyl langage leſt the kyng heze you · for

the courtyne heeryth you wel y nough. than as touchyng to the paynes that they ought to suffre paciently/ Valerius reherceth that a tyraunt dyd to torment Anamaxymenes and thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tunge. to whom he sayd hit is not in thy power to do so, and forthwith he bote of his owne tongue, and chewid hit wyth his tethe and caste hit in the vysage of the tyraunt. hit is a grete vertu in a man that he forgete not to be pacient in correc-cions of wronges. hit is better to leue a gylty man vn-punysshed. than to punysshe hym in a wrath or yre, Valerius rehercith that archyta of tarente that was mayster to plato sawe that his feldes and landes were destroy-ed and lost by the necligence of his seruaunt, to whom he sayd ys I were not angry with the I wolde take venge aunce and turmente the. lo there ye may see that he had leuer to leue to punysshe, than to punysshe more by yre & wrath than by right. And therfore sayth seneque, do not thyng that thou oughtest to doo whan thou arte angrye For whan thou art angry thou woldest do alle thynges after thy playsir/ and yf thou canst not vaynquysshe thyn yre. than must thyn yre ouercome the. After thys ought they to haue wylful pouerte/ lyke as hit was in the aun-cient prynces. For they coueyted more to be riche in wytte and good maners thenne in money/ And that rehercith Valerius in his viij book that Scyppyon of affryque was accused vnto the senate that he shold haue grete tresour. And he answerd certes whan I submysed Affrique in to your poeste. I helde no thyng to my sels that I myght say this is myn saue onely the surname of affrique. Ner

the affriquans haue not founden in me ner in my broder ony auaryce / ner that we were so couetouse that we hadn ne had gretter enuye to be riche of name than of richesses Andn therfore sayth Seneque that the kyngn altagone vsyd gladly in his hows vessels of erthe / Andn somme sayd he dyd hit for couetyse / but he sayd that hit was bet: ter and more noble thynge to shyne in good maners than in vasseyll / And whan sōme men demaunded hym why & for what cause he dydn so / he answerd I am now kyngn of Secylle . and was sone of a potter/andn for as moche as I doubte fortune / for whan I yssued out of the hows of my fader and moder . I was sodaynly maad riche / wherfore I beholde the natyuyte of me and of my lignage / whiche is humble andn meke. and al these thynges cometh of wyl ful pouerte / For he entendedn more to the comyn proffyt than to his owen . Andn of this pouerte speketh Saynt Augustyn in the book of the cyte of godn that they that entende to the comyn proffyt . sorowe more that wylful pouerte is lost in rome . than the richesses of rome / for by the wylful pouerte was the renomee of good maners kepte entierly / thus by this richesse pouerte is not onely corrupt in thyse dayes ner the cyte ner the maners / But also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by this couetise and by felonye that is worse than ony other enemye / and of the cruelte of the peple of rome speketh the good man of noble memorye John the monke late cardynal of rome in the decretal the sixte in the chappytre gens scā where he sayth / that they ben felons ayenst god / contrarye to holy thynges / trayters one to that other . Enuyous . to her

neyghbours. proud vnto straungers. rebell and vntrewe vnto their souerayns, not suffryng to them that been of lower degree than they & no thyng shamefast to demaūde thynges discouenable and not to leue tyl they haue that they demaunde, and not plesyd but disagreable whan they haue receyued the yefte. they haue theyr tongues redy for to make grete boost. and do lityl, they ben large in promy syng and smale gyuers, they ben right fals deceyours, and right mordent and bytyng detractours. For whiche thingꝫ hit is a grete sorowe to see the humylite the pacy=ence. and the good wysdom that was wonte to be in this cyte of rome whiche is chyef of al the world & is peruer ted and torned in to maleheurte & thyse euylles. And me thynketh that in other parties of cristente they haue taken ensaumple of them to do euyl, They may say that this is after the decretale of seygnorye andꝫ dysobeysaunce, that sayth. that suche thynges that the souerayns do. is lightly and sone taken in ensaumple of theyr subjettis. also thyse vycayres shold be large and liberall. in so moche that suche peple as serue them ben duly payd and guerdoned of her la bour. For euery man doth his labour the better & light=lyer whan he seeth that he shal be wel payed and rewarded And we rede that titus the sone of vaspasian was so large and so lyberal. that he gaf & promysed sumwhat to euery man. and whan his most preuy frendes demaundedꝫ of hym why he promysed more thenne he myght gyue, He answerdꝫ for as moche as it aperteyneth not to a prynce that ony man sholdꝫ departe sorowful or tryste fro hym, Than hit happend on a day that he gaf ner promysedꝫ no

thyng to ony man / and Whan it Was euen and aduyſed hym ſelf he ſayd to his frendes . O ye my frendes thys day haue I loſt for this day haue I doy no good . and alſo We rede of Julius æſar that he neuer ſayd in alle hys lyf to hys knyghtes goo on + but alWey he ſayd come come . For I loue alWey to be in youz companye / And he kneWe Wel that it Was laſſe payne and trauaylle to the knyghtes Whan the prynce is in her companye that loueth hem & comforteth hem.and alſo We rede of the ſame Julyus æſar in the book of truphes of philoſophezs /that there Was an auncient knyght of his that Was in parelle of a caas hangyng tofore the Juges of rome ſo he callyd æſar on a tyme and ſayd to hym tofore al men that he ſhold be his aduocate . And æſar delyuezyd and aſſygned to hym a right good aduocate ·and the knyght ſayd to hym / O æſar I put no Bycayr in my place Whey thou Were in parryl in the batayl of aſſiſe / but I faught for the . & than he ſheWyd to hym the places of his Wounded that he had receyued in the batayll . and than cam æſar in his propre perſone for to be his aduocate and to plete his cauſe for hym . he Wold not haue the name of Vnkyndenes . But doubted that men ſhold ſay that he Were proude + and that he Wold not doo for them that had ſeruyd hym / they that ony not do ſo moche as for to be delouyd of her knyghtes . ony not loue the knyghtes . & this ſuffiſeth of the wokes

The iij tractate of the offices of the comyn peple· the first chappitre is of the offyce of the labourers & werkmen ca j

For so moche as noble persones can not rewle ne go f uerne without the seruyse and werke of the people Than hit behoueth to deuyse the oultrages and the offyces of the werkmen. than I shal begynne first at the first pawn that is in the playe of the chesse. & signifieth a man of the comyn peple on fote. for they be al named pictons that is as moche to say as footmen, Andz thenne we wyl begynne at the pawn whyche standeth tofore the rooke on the right syde of the kyngz. For as moche as thys pawne apperteyneth to serue the vycayre or lyeuetenaunt of the kyng and other officers, vnder hym of necessaries

of Bytaylle / and this maner of peple is figured & ought be maad in the forme and ſhape of a man holdyng in his right hond a ſpade or ſhouel . and a wodde in the lyft hand the ſpade or ſhouel is for to delue and labouz therWyth the erthe . and the wodde is for to dryue and conduyte Wyth al the beſtys Vnto her paſture / alſo he ought to haue on his gyrdel a ſarpe or cwkyd hacket foz to cutte of the ſuperflu-ytees of the Vignes and trees / And We zede in the bible that the fizſt labouzer that euer Was. Was cayn the fizſt ſone of adã that Was ſo euyl that he ſleWe his broder abel For as mocke as the ſmoke of his tithes Went ſtrayt Vn to heuen / and the ſmoke and fume of the tithes of cayn Went doun Ward Vpon the erthe . and hoW Wel that thys cauſe Was treWe . yet Was theze another cauſe of enuye that he had Vnto his broder / Foz When Adam theyr fadez maryed them foz to multeplye the ezthe of his ligne / he Wold not mazye ner Joyne to gydez the tWo that Were bozne attones . but gaf Vnto cayn hez that Was bozn With abel . and to abel her that Was bozne Wyth cayn . & thus he gan thenuye that cayn had ayenſt abel / For hys Wyf Was fayrer than cayns Wyf / and for this cauſe he ſleWe abel Wyth the chekebone of a beſte / And at that tyme Was neuer no maner of ywn blody of mannes blood . And Abel Was the fyzſt martir in the olde teſtament . and thys ſayd cayn dyd many othez euyl thynges Whiche I leue, for it apeztayneth not to my mater . but it behoueth foz neceſſyte that ſõme ſhold labouze the ezthe / after the ſynne of adam / foz tofore or adam ſynned / therthe brought forth fruyt Without labour of handes but ſithe he ſynned

hit muſt nedes be labouzed With the handes of men / & for as mocke as the erthe is moder of al thynges /and that We Weze firſt fozmedy & took ouz begynnyng of the ezthe/ the ſame Wyſe at the laſt/ ſhe ſhal be the ende Vnto al Vs & to al thynges . & god that formed Vs of the erthe. hath ozdeyned that by the labour of men ſhe ſhold gyue nouryſ= ſhyng Vnto al that lyueth /& firſt the labourer of thezth ought to knoWe his god that formed & made heuen & ezthe of nought/and ought to haue loyalte & trouth in hym ſelf and deſpiſe deth foz to entende to his labour and he ought to geue thankynges to hym that made hym & of Whom he zeceyueth al his goodes temporal/ Wherof his lyf is ſuſtey ned . and alſo he is bounden to paye the diſmes & tythes of al his thynges . and not as caym dyd . but as abel dyd of the beſte that he cheſe out alWey for to gyue to god and to pleſe hym /for they that grutche and be greued in that they rendre & geue to god the tienthes of her goodes/ they ought to be aferd and haue drede that they ſhal falle in neceſſyte / And that they myght be deſpoylyd oz robbyd by Warze or by tempeſt that myght falle oz happen in the contray / And hit is no merueylle though hyt ſo happen/ For that may that is diſagreable Vnto god/and Weneth that the multeplyeng of his goodes temporel cometh by the Vertu of his oWne counceyl and his Witte /the Whiche is made by the only ordenaunce of hym that made al /and by the ſame ordenaũce is ſone taken aWey fro hym that is diſagreable . & hit is reſon that Whan a man haboundeth by fortune in goodes / & knoWith not god by Whõ it cometh. that to hym come ſõme other fortune by the Whiche he may

requyre grace and pardon & to knowe his god/& we rede of the kyng dauyd that was first simple & one of the comyn peple that when fortune had enhauncid & sette him in grete estate. he left & forgate his god/& fyl to aduoultrie & homycide & other synnes/than anone his owne sone absalon assaillid & began to persecute hym/& than whan he sawe that fortune was contrarye to hym/he began to take ageyn his vertuous werkis and requyred pardon & so retorned to god agayn. We rede also of the children of ysrael that were nygh enfamyned in desert & sore hungry & thrusty that they prayed & requyred of god for remedye. anone he chaunged his wille & sent to hem mãna & flessh. & whan they were replenysshed & fatte of the flessh of bestes & of the manna they made a calf of gold & worshipped hit. whiche was a grete synne & inyquyte. for whan they were hongry they knewe god. & whan theyr belies were filled & fatted. they forgid ydolles & were ydolatreres. after this euery labourer ought to be faithful and trewe/that whan his maister delyuereth to hym his lande to be laboured/that he take no thyng to hym self but that he ought to haue & is his. but laboure truly and take cure & charge in the name of hys maystre/and do more diligenly hys maysters labours than his owen/for the lyf of the most grete & noble men next god lieth in the handes of the labourers/and thus al craftes and occupacions ben ordeyned not only to suffise to thẽ only. but to ẏ comyn. & so it happeth oft tyme that the labourer of the erth vseth grete & boistrous metis/& bryngeth to his maister more subtile & more deynteous metes. And valerius rehercith in his sixt book that ther was a

Wyſe and noble maiſtre that was named anthonius that was acuſid of a cas of auoultry. & as the cauſe henge tofore the Juges / his acuſers or denonciatours brought a labourer that cloſid his lande for ſo mocke as they ſayd Whan his mayſter went to do the aduoultrye / this ſame ſeruaunt bare the lanterne/Wherof Anthonius was ſore abaſſhid . & douted that he ſhold depoſe agaynſt hym /But the labourer that was named papirion ſaid to his maiſter that he ſhold denye his cauſe hardily vnto the Juges /for to be tormentid /his cauſe ſhold neuer be enpeyred by hym ner no thyng ſhold yſſue out of his mouth Wherof he ſhold be noyed or greuyd /& than was the labourer keten & tor: mentid & brent in many places of his body . but he ſayd ne uer thyng Wherof his maiſter was huyt or noyed / but the other that acuſed his maiſter were punyſſhed / & papirion was delyuerd of his paynes . & alſo telleth Valerius that there was another labourer that was named penapion/ that ſeruyd a maiſter Whos name was themes Which was of mezuaillous faith to his maiſter .for hit befel that er teyn knyghtes cam to his maiſters hows for to ſle hym / & anone as penapion knewe hit . he went in to his maiſters chambre/& wold not be knowen/for he did on his mayſters gowne & his zynge on his fingre/& lay in his bedde /and thus put hym ſelf in parelle of deth for to reſpyte hys mayſters lyf . But we ſee now a dayes many fooks that daigne not to vſe grose metis of labourers . and flee the cours clothyng and maners of a ſeruaunt / Euery wyſe may a ſeruaunt that trewly ſeruyth his maiſter is free and not bonde . but a fool that is ouer proud is bonde .

For the debylite and feblenes of corage that is broken in conſcience by pryde . Enuye . or by couetyſe is right ſeruy tude yet they ought not to doubte to laboure . for fere and drede of deth no man ought to loue to mocke his lyf/ For hit is a foul thyng for a man to renne to the deth for the enuye of his lyf / and a Wyſe man and a ſtronge man ought not to fle for his lyf . but to yſſue . for there is no man that lyueth .but he muſt nedes dye/& of this ſpeketh claudyan and ſaith that al tho thynges that the ayer goth about & enuyronneth & alle thyng that the erthe laboureth Al thynges that ben conteyned Within the ſee/al thynges that the flodes bryngе forth /alle thynges that ben nouriſhed .& al the beſtes that ben Vnder the heuen ſhal deporte alle from the Worlde . and al ſhal goo at his cõmaũdement as Wel kynges prynces and al that the Worlde enuyronneth and goeth about . alle ſhal goo this Way / Than he ought not to doubte for fere of deth . for as Wel ſhal dye the ryche as the poure. deth maketh alle thynge lyke and putteth al to an ende . and therof made a noble Verſefyer two Verſis Whiche foloWe/ Forma genus mores, ſapiencia res et honores . Morte ruant ſubita ſola manent merita . Wherof the engliſſh is /beaute, lignage maners . Wyſedom. thynges and honoures /ſhal ben defendy by ſodeyn deth . no thyng ſhal abyde but the meritis .& herof fynde We in Vitas patrum that there Was an erle a riche & noble man that had a ſone onely /And Whan thys ſone Was of age to haue knoWleche of the laWe . he herde in a ſermone that deth ſpareth none /& as Wel dyeth the yonge as the olde .

And that the deth ought ſpeially to be doubted for thre cauſes / one was that no man knoweth whan he cometh / and the ſecond ner in what ſtate he taketh a man . And the thyrd he wote neuer whether he ſhal goo / therfore eche man ſhold diſpyſe and flee the world and lyue wel and holde hym toward god . and whan this yonge man herde this thyng / he went out of his contray and fledde vnto a wylderneſſe vnto an hermytage . and whan his fadez had loſte hym he made grete ſowe and dyd do enquere & ſeke hym ſo moche that atte laſt he was founden in the hermytage / And thenne his fader cam theder to hym and ſayd . Dere ſone come from thens / thou ſhalt be after my dethe erle and chyef of my lignage / I ſhal be loſt yf thou come not out from thens / & he than that wyſt none other wyſe to eſchewe the yre of his fader bethought hym and ſayd / Dere fader there is in your contre and lande a right euyll auſtume yf hit pleſe you to put that awey I ſhal gladly come out of this place and goo with you . The fadez was glad and had grete Joye / and demaunded of hym what hit was . and yf he wolde telle hym he promyſed hym to take hit awey and hit ſhold be lefte and ſette a parte / Than he ſayd deze fadez theze dyen as wel the yonge folke as the olde in youz contray . do that awey I praye you / Whan his fadez herde that . he ſayd dere ſone that may not be ner no man may put that awey but god onely / than anſwerd the ſone to the fadez . than wyl I ſerue hym and dwelle here with hym that may do that / And ſo abode the childe in the hermytage and lyued theze in good werkis . after this hit appertayneth to a labourez to entende to his labour

and flee ydelnes/ and thou oughtest to knowe that dauyd preyseth mocke in the sawlter the treWe labourers & sayth thou shalt ete the labour of thyn handes and thou art blessyd / and he shal doo to the goody . And hit behoueth that the labourer endende to his labouz on the Werkedayes for to reuayel and gadre to gydre the fruyt of his labour and also he ought to reste on the holy day . bothe he & hys bestys / and a good labourer ought to norisshe and kepe his bestys . And this is signyfyed by the wode that he hath / Whiche is for to lede and dzyue them to the pasture . The first pastour that euer Was Was Abel Whyche Was Juste and treWe / and offrid to god the bestis Vnto hys saczefise . and hym ought he to foloWe in craft and maners but no man that Vseth the malyce of cayn maye ensue & foloWe abel / and thus hit apertayneth to the labouzer to sette and graffe trees and Vignes . and also to plante & autte them / and so dyd Noe Whyche Was the first that planted the Vygne after the deluge and flood / For as Josephus zehezeth in the book of naturel thynges / Noe Was he that fonde fizst the Vigne . and he fonde hym byt ter and Wylde / and therfore he took four maners of blood that is to Wete the blood of a lyon / the blood of a lamb the blood of a swyne . and the blood of an ape & medlid them al to geder Wyth the erthe / And than he cutte the Vigne and put thys about the wtes therof / to thende that the byttiznes sholde be put aWey / & that hit sholde be sWete And Whan he had dronken of the fruyt of thys Vygne . hit Was so goody & myghty that he became so dronke that he despoyled hym in suche Wyse that his pzyuy membres

myght he ſeen / and his yongeſt ſone cham mocqued and ſkorned hym + and Whan noe Was aWaked and Was ſobre and faſtyng / he aſſembled his ſones and ſheWed to them the nature of the Vygne and of the Wyn + & tolde to them the cauſe Why that he had put the blood of the beſtes about the rote of the Vigne and that they ſhold knoWe Wel that otherWhile by the ſtrengthe of the Wyn men be maad as hardy as the lyon and ywus + and otherWhile they be made ſymple and ſhamefaſt as a lambe / & lecherous as a ſWyne and curious and ful of play as an ape / for the ape is of ſuche nature that Whan he ſeeth one do a thyng he enforceth hym to do the ſame / and ſo doy many Whan they been dronke / they Wyl meddle them With al offycers and maiſters that apperteyne no thyng to them / and Whan they ben faſtyng & ſobre they can ſcarcely accompliſſhe theyr oWne thynges / and therfore Valerian reherceth that of auncient and in olde tyme Women dranke no Wyn for as moche as by dronkenſhyp they myght falle in ony filthe or Vylony and as ouyde ſaith + that the Wynes otherWhyle apparylle the corages in ſuche maneze that they ben couenable to al ſynnes Whyche take aWey the hertes to do Wel + they make the poure + riche as longe as the Wyn is in his heed / and ſhortly dronkenſhyp is the begynnyng of alle euylles + & corrupteth the body / and deſtroyeth the ſoWle & myniſſheth the goodes temporels / & this ſuffiſeth for the labourers /

The ſecond chappytre of the thyrdy tractate treteth of the ſorme andy manez of the ſecondy pawne andy of the manez of a ſmyth capitulo ſeando

The ſecond pawy that ſtondeth toſore the knyght oy t the right ſyde of the kyng hath the forme & fygure of a may as a ſmyth and that is reſon/ for hit apertey: neth to the knyghtes to haue bridlys ſadelkis ſpores and many other thynges maad by the handes of ſmythes and ought to holde ay hamer ỹ his right hond /and ỹ his lift hande a ſquyer . and he ought to haue oy his gyrdel a two Wel / For by this is ſignefyedy alle maner of Werkmey . as goldſmythes . marchallis . Smythes of alle forges/

forgers and makers of money and al maner of smythes ben signefyedꝫ by the martel or hamer. The carpenters ben signefyedꝫ by the dolabre or squyer/and by the trowel we vnderstonde al masons and kerueꝛs of stones. tylers and al those that make howses castels and towres/And vnto al thyse crafty men/hit aperteyneth that they be tre we. wyse and stronge/Andꝫ hit is nede that they haue in hem self fayth and loyaulte/ For vnto the goldsmythes behoueth golde and syluer and alle other metallys. yren andꝫ steel to other. andꝫ vnto the carpentiers andꝫ ma: sons ben put to theyr edefyces the bodyes andꝫ goodes of the peple/and also men put in the handes of the maroners body and goodes of the peple. and in the garde and sewerte of them men put body and sowle in the parilles of the see And therfore ought they to be trewe vnto whom men com mytte suche grete charge andꝫ so grete thynges vpon her fayth andꝫ truste. andꝫ therfore sayth the phylosopher. He that leseth his fayth andꝫ beleue/ may lose no gretter ne more thynge/andꝫ fayth is a souerayn goodꝫ andꝫ cometh of the good wylle of the herte and of his mynde. and for no necessyte wyl deceyue no man. andꝫ is not corrupt for no mede. Valerius rehercith that fabius hadꝫ receyuedꝫ of hanybal certeyn prysoners that he helde of the romayns for a certeyn sōme of money whiche he promysedꝫ to paye to the sayd hanybal. and whan he cam vnto the senatours of rome andꝫ desyredꝫ to haue the money lente for hem. they answerdꝫ that they wold not paye nor lene/and than ffabius sent his sone to rome and made hym to selle hys heritage andꝫ patrymonye. andꝫ sent the money that he

receyued therof vnto hanybal. and had leuer and louyd better to be youre in his contrey of heritage / than of releue and fayth / But in thyse dayes it were grete folye to haue ſuche affyaunce in mocke peple but yf they had ben preuyd afore / for oftentymes men truſte in them by whom they ben deceyuyd at theyr nede / and it is to wete that theſe crafty men and werkmen ben ſouerynly profytable vnto the world / and without artificers and werkmen the world myght not be gouerned / and knowe thou verily that alle the thynges that ben engendrid on the erthe and on the ſee · ben maad and formed for to do profyt vnto the lignage of man. For man was formed for to haue generacion / that the men myght helpe and profyt eche other / And here in ought we to folowe nature / For ſhe ſheweth to vs that we ſhold do comyn profyt one to another. and the firſt fondement of Juſtyce is that no man ſhold noye ne greue other · but that they ought do the comen profyt For men ſay in repreche. that I ſee of thyn. I hope it ſhal be myn / but who is he in thyſe dayes that entendeth more to the comyn profyt than to his owne / certeynly none but alwey a man ought to haue drede and fere of his owne hows / whan he ſeeth his neyghbours hows a fyre. And therfore ought men gladly helpe the comyn prouffyt / for men otherwhyle ſette not by a lytyl fyre & myght quenche hit in the begynnyng / that afterward maketh a grete blaſyng fire & fortune hath of no thyng ſo grete pleſure as for to torne & werke alwey / & nature is ſo noble a thyng that where as ſhe is ſhe wyl ſuſteyne and kepe. but thys zewle of nature hath faylled longe tyme. How wel that

the decree ſaith that alle the thynges that ben ayenſt the lawe of nature ought to be taken awey and put a parte / And he ſayth tofore in the viij diſtincaion that the ryght lawe of nature defferenceth ofte tymes fro auſtom & ſtatutes eſtabliſſhyd / For by lawe of nature al thyng ought to be comyn to euery man / and thys lawe was of olde tyme. and men wene yet ſpeaally that the twians kept this lawe .and we rede that the multitude of the twians was one herte & one ſowle • and verayly we fynde that in tyme paſſid the philoſophres dide the ſame. And alſo it is to be ſuppoſid that ſuche as haue theyr goodes comune and not propre is moſt acceptable to god. ffor ellis wold not thyſe religyous men as monkes freres chanons obſeruantes and al othez auowe hem and kepe the wylful poverte that they ben profeſſyd to • For in trouth I haue my ſelf ben conuerſaunt in a religious howſe of whyt freres at gaunt whiche haue al thyngs in comyn among them .and not one richer than another in ſo muche that yf a man gaf to a frere iij d or iiij d to praye for hym in his maſſe / as ſone as the maſſe is don he delyuereth hit to his ouereſt or procuratour in whiche howſe ben many vertuous and deuout freris / and yf that lyf were not the beſt & the moſt holyeſt • holy chirche wold neuer ſuffre hit in religyon / And acordyng therto we rede in plato whiche ſayth that the cyte is wel and juſtly gouerned and ordeyned in the which no man may ſay by right, by auſtome ne by ordenaū e .thys is myn .But I ſay to the exterynly that ſythen this auſtome came forth to ſay this is myn . and this is thyn . no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffyt ſo

moche as his owne . and al werkmen ought to be wyse & wel aduysed so that they haue none enuye ne none euyll suspecion one to another / For god wyl that our humayn nature be couetous of two thynges /that is of religyon & of wysedom ,but in this caas ben sōme often tymes decey / ued , For they take often tymes religyon & leue wysedom & they take wysedom & refuse religyon /And none may be veray and trewe wyth out other + for it apperteyneth not to a wyse man to do ony thyng that he may repente hym of hit ,and he ought to do no thyng ayenst his wylle ' But to do al thyng nobly·meurely,fermely & honestly/ & yf he haue enuye vpon ony ,hit is folye/for he on whom he hath enuye is more honest and of more hauoyr than he whiche is so enuyous ' For a man may haue none enuye on another .but by cause he is more fortunat & hath more grace than hym self /for enuye is a sorowe of corage that cometh of this ordenaūce of the prouffyt of another man and knowe thou verily that he that is ful of bounte shal neuer haue enuye of another . but thenuyous man seeth and thynketh alwey that euery man is more noble .and more fortunat than hym self /and saith alwey to hym self that man wynneth more than I /and myn neyghbours haue more plente of bestes / and her thynges multeplye more than myn ,and therfore thou oughtest knowe that enuye is the most grettest dedely synne that is / For she tormenteth hym that hath her within hym ,wythout tor: mentyng or doyng ony harme to hym . on whom he hath enuye /And an enuyous man hath no vertu in hym self For he corrumpeth hym self for as moche as he hateth

alWey the Welthe and Vertues of other/And thus ought they to kepe them that they take none euyl ſuſpeaon . for a man naturelly Whan his affecaon hath ſuſpeaon in ony man that he Weneth that he doth . hit ſemeth to hym Very ly that it is don. And it is an euyl thyng for a man to haue ſuſpeaon on hym ſelf / For We zede that dyonyſe of zecyle a tyraunt . Was ſo ſuſpeaous that he had ſo grete fere and drede . for as mocke as he Was hated of alle men/ that he put his frendes out theyr offyces that they had and put other ſtraungers in their places for to kepe his body/ and cheſe ſucke as Were right cruel and felons/ and for fere & doubte of the lazbours . he made his doughters to lezne ſhaue and kembe / and Whan they Weze grete / he Wold not they ſhold Vſe ony ywy to be occuppedy by them but to brenne and ſenge his heeris /and menaced them and duzſt not truſte in them . And in like Wyſe they had none affyaunce in hym . and alſo he did do enuyronne the place Where he lay Wyth grete dyckes and brode lyke a caſ: tel . and he entred by a draWe bridge Which cloſid after hym . and his knyghtes laye Without Wyth his gardes Which Watched and kept ſtraytly thys forteresſe / & Whan plato ſaWe thy ſaid dionyſe kyng of zeálle thus enuy: roned and ſette about Wyth gardes and Watchemen for the cauſe of his ſuſpeſaon /ſayd to hym openly tofore alle men kynge Why haſt thou don ſo mocke euyl and harme / that the behoueth to be kept Wyth ſo mocke peple / & therfore I ſay that it aperteyneth not to ony man that Wylle tru ly behaue hym ſelf in his Werkes to be ſuſpeaous / & alſo they ought to be ſtronge and ſeuze in theyr Werkys /and

specially they that ben maysters and maronners on the see, ffor yf they be tumerous and ferdful they shold make aferde them that ben in theyr shippis / that knowe not the parilles. and so hit myght happen that by that drede and fere al men shold leue theyr labour / and so they myght be perisshed and dispeyrid in theyr corages. For a shyppe is soon perisshed and lost by a litil tempest / Whan the gouernour faylleth to gouerne his shyppe for drede / and can geue no counceyl to other / thenne it is no meruaylle. though they be aferde that ben in his gouernaunce. And therfore ought to be in them strengthe. force and corage and ought to considere the paryls that myght falle. and the gouernour specially ought not to doubte / and yf hyt happyn that ony parril falle / he ought to promyse to the other good hoop. and hit aperteyneth wel / that a man of good and hardy corage be sette in that office. in suche wyse that he haue ferme and seure mynde ayenst the parylles that oft tymes happen in the see. and wyth this ought the maronners haue good and ferme creaunce and beleue in god. and to be of good recomforte and of fayr langage vnto them that he gouerneth in suche parellys / And thys suffyseth to you as touchyng the labourers.

The thyrd chappytre of the thyrd book treteth of the office of notaries aduocates skryuenars and drapers or cloth makers capitulo terzáo

The third pawn Whiche is sette tofore the alphyn on the right syde ought to be fygured as a clerke/ and hit is reson that he sholde so be / for as mocke as emonge the comune peple of Whom We speke in this boke they plete the differences contenaons and causes otherWhyle the Whiche behoueth the alphyns to geue sentence and Juge as Juges / and hit is reson that the alphyn or Juge haue his notarye / by Whom the proesse may be Wreton. And this pawn ought to be maad and figured in this manere

He muſt be made like a man that holdeth in his right hand a payr of ſheris / or forcettis /and in the lyfte hand a grete knyf and on his gurdel a pennez an ynk horn . and on his eere a penne to Wryte With /and that keep the Inſtrumentis and the offyces that keep maad and putte in Wrytyng autentique .and ought to haue paſſyd tofore the Juges as libelles Writes condempnacions & ſentences and that is ſignefied by the ſcripture and the penne/and on that other parte hit apertayneth to them to autte clothe ſheze .dyght and dye .and that is ſignefyed by the for ; cettis or ſheris /and the other ought to ſhaue kerdis and kembe the heeris .and the other ben coupers . cozyers /ta; Wyers /ſkynnezs touchers /and kozdWannezs .and theſe ben ſignefyed by the knyf that he holdeth in hys hand . & ſome of thyſe forſayd crafty men keep named drapers or clothmakers for ſo moche as they Werke With Wolle .and the notaries ſkynnars Coryouzs and cozdWaners Werke by ſkynnes and hydes .as perchymyn Velume /peltrie and cozdeWan /and the tayllouzs autters of cloth /Weuars . fullars / dyers .and many other crafres oappye and Vſe Wulle .and al thyſe crafty men & many other that J haue not named ought to do theyr craft and meſtier.Where as they ben duly ordeynyd auiouſly and treWly /Alſo there ought to be amonge thyſe crafty men amyable companye and treWe honeſt countenaunce / And trouthe in theyr Wordes / And hit is to Wete that the notaryes ben ryght prouffytable and ought to be good and treWe for the co; myn . And they ought to kepe them fwom appwpzyng to them ſelf that thyngz that apertayneth to the compy /

And yf they be goodꝫ to them self, they ben good to other and yf they be euyl for them self / they ben euyl for other And the processes that ben maad tofore the Juges ought to ben Wreton and passydꝫ by them + Andꝫ it is to Wete that by their Writyng in the processes may come moche prouffit And also yf they Wryte otherWyse than they ought to doo may enseWe moche harme andꝫ domage to the comyn / Therfore ought they to take goodꝫ hede that they chaunge not ne corumpe in no Wyse the content of the sentence, for than ben they first forsWorne, and ben bounden to make amendis to them that by their trecherye they haue endomaged / and also ought they to rede visite & to knoWe the statutes / ordenaunces & the laWes of the citees of the contre Where they dWelle and enhabite. and they ought to consideze yf there be ony thyng therin conteyned ayenst right & reson. and yf they fynde ony thyng contrarie. they ought to admoneste & Warne them that gouerne. that suche thynges may be chaunged in to better estate, for custume establisshedꝫ ayenst goodꝫ maners andꝫ ageynst the fayth. ought not to be holden by ryght, For as hit is sayd in the decree in the chappytre tofore / all ordenaunce maadꝫ ayenst right ought to be holden for nought / Alas Who is noW that aduocate or notarye that hath charge to Wryte andꝫ kepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the comyn prouffyt or as moche as his oWen + but alle drede of godꝫ is put aback. Andꝫ they deceyue the symple men / & draWen them to the courtes disordenatly & constrayne them to sWere andꝫ make othes not couenable / and in assemblyng the peple thus to gyder they make mo traysons

in the cytees thenne they make goodꝫ alyaunces.
And otherwhile they deceyue theyr souerayns / whan they may do hit couertly / For there is no thyngꝫ at this day that so moche greueth rome and Italie as doth the college of notaryes and aduocates publique / for they ben not of one accorde. Alas and in Engelond what hurte doon the aduocates men of lawe and attorneyes of court to the comyn peple of the royame as wel in the spirituel lawe as in the temporalle. how torne they the lawe and statutes at their plesure / how ete they the peple / how enpoueze they the comynte / I suppose that in alle cristendom are not so many pletars attorneys andꝫ men of the lawe as been in englond onely. for yf they were nombrid alle that longe to the courtes of the chaunserye + kynges benche + comyn place + chekez / ressayt / and helle / and the bagge berars of the same / hit shold amounte to a grete multitude. Andꝫ how al thyse lyue and of whom / yf hit shold be vttrid and tolde / hit shold not be beleuyd for they entende to theyr syn guler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn / how wel they ought to be of good wyl to gyder. And admoneste & warne the cytees eche in his right in suche wyse that they myght haue pees and loue one wyth another + & Tullyus saith that frendshyp and goodꝫ wylle that one ought to haue ayenst another for the wele of hym that he loueth. wyth the semblable wylle of hym / ought to be put forth tofore al other thynges. & ther is no thyng so resēblyng andꝫ lyke to the bees that maken hony so couenable in prosperite and in aduersite as is loue. For by loue gladly the bees holden them to gyder.

and yf ony treſpace to that other anone they renne vpon the malefactour for to punyſſhe hym . and verray trewe loue faylleth neuer for wele ne for euyl , and the moſt ſwete & the moſt comfortyng thyng is for to haue a frend to whō a man may ſay his ſecret as wel as to hym ſelf , but ver-rayly amytye and frendſhyp is ſometyme founded vpon ſōme thyng delectable . and this amytie cometh of yongthe in the which dwellith a diſordynate hete / & otherwhile amy tie is founded vpon honeſte / and this amytie is vertuous / of the whiche tullyus ſaith that there is an amytie vertu-ous by the whiche a man ought to do to his frende al that he requyreth by reaſon , for to do to hym a thyng diſho-neſt it is ayenſt the nature of verray frendſhyp & amytye And thus for frendſhyp ne for fauour a man ought not to doo ony thyngs vnreſonable ayenſt the comyn prouffyt ner ageynſt his fayth ne ageynſt his othe . For yf alle tho thynges that the frendes deſyre and requyre were accompliſſhed and doon / hyt ſholde ſeme that they ſholde be dyſhoneſte coniuracions . And they myght o-therwhyle more greue and hurte than proffyte and ayde . And herof ſayth Seneque that Amytye is of ſuche wylle as the frende wylle . And to refuſe that ought to be re-fuſed by reaſon. And yet he ſaith more that a man ought to alowe & preiſe his frend tofore the peple / & to correcte & to chaſtyſe hym pryuely / for the lawe of amytie is ſuche . for a man ought not to demaunde ner do to be doon to his frende no vylayns thyngs that ought to be kept ſecrete And valerian ſayth that it is a foulee thynge and an euyl excuſacion . yf a man confeſſe that he hath doon ony

euyl for his frende ayenſt right and reaſon / And ſayth that there Was a good man named taſſyle Whiche herde one his frende requyre of hym a thynge diſhoneſte Whiche he denyed & Wold not do / & than his frende ſaid to hym in grete deſpyte /What nede haue I of thy frendſhip & amytee Whan thou Wilt not do that thyng that I requyre of the. & taſſile anſWerd to hym. What nede haue I of the frēdſhip & of the amyte of the. yf I ſhold do for the thyng diſhoneſt and thus loue is founded otherWhile. Vpon good prouffy table/ & this loue endureth as longe as he ſeeth his prouffyt. and hewf men ſay a comyn prouerbe in englond /that loue laſteth as longe as the money endurith/ & Whan the money failleth than there is no loue / & Varro rehearſith in his cōmes/that the riche men ley al louyd by this loue. for their frendes ben like as the huſke Whiche is about the grayn. and no man may proue his frende ſo Wel as in ad uerſite/or Whan he is poure. for the Veray treWe frende fayleth at no nede/& ſeneque ſaith that ſōme foloWe the emperour for richeſs/& ſo don the flies the hony for the ſWetenes & the Wolf the carayn. And thyſe companye foloWe the praye / and not the man. And Tullyus ſayth that tarquyn the proud had a neueWe of his ſuſter Whiche Was named brutus and this neueWe had banyſſhed tarquin out of rome and had ſent hym in exyle. And than ſayd he fyrſt that he parceyued and kneWe his frendes Whyche Were treWe and vntreWe. & that he neuer perceyued afore tyme Whan he Was puyſſaunt for to do theyr Wylle/ & ſayd Wel that the loue that they had to hym /endured not but as longe as hit Was to them prouffytable.

and therfore ought al the riche men of the World take hede be they kynges prynces or duckes to What peple they doo prouffyt and how they may and ought be louydn of theyr peple. For cathon sayth in his book /see to Whom thou geuest. & thys loue Whiche is founded vpon theyr prouffit Whiche fayleth and endureth not, may better be callid and sayd marchaundyse than loue /for yf We repute this loue to our prouffyt onely. & no thyng to the puroffyt of hym that We loue, it is more marchaundyse than loue! for he byeth our loue for the prouffyt that he doth to vs / Andn therfore sayth the versefier thyse two versis. Tempore fe: lici multi numerantur amici / Cum fortuna perit nullus amicus erit. Whiche is to say in englissh that as longe as a man is ewrous and fortunat he hath many frendes but Whan fortune torneth and perissheth, there abydeth not to hym one frende. and of thys loue ben loued the medo: Wes /feldes, trees & the bestys for the prouffyt that men take of them /but the loue of the men ought to be charite veray gracious and pure by goodn fayth / And the veray trewe frendes ben knowen in pure aduersite. Andn piers alphons sayth in his book of Moralite that there was a phylosophre in Arabye that had an onely sone / of Whom he demaundedn What frendes he hadn goten hym in his lyf And he answerd that he had many /and his fader sayd to hym. I am an olde man and yet coude I neuer fynde but one frende in al my lyf, and I trowe verely that it is no lytyl thyng for to haue a frende, and hit is wel gretter & more a man to haue many /and hit apperteyneth and beho ueth a man to assaye and preue his frende or he haue nede

and thenne cõmaunded the philoſopher his ſone ·that he ſhold goo and ſlee a ſWyne /and put hit in a ſacke/ and ſayne that it Were a man dede that he had ſlayn and bere hit to his frendes for to buryе hit ſecretly /And Whan the ſone had don as his fader cõmaunded hym and had requyred his frendes one after another as afore is ſayd / they denyed hym and anſWerd to hym that he Was a Bylayne to requyre and deſire of them thyng that Was ſo perilous ·And than he came agayn to his fader and ſayd to hym hoW he had zequyred al his frendes .And that he had not founden one that Wold helpe hym in his nede / And than his fader ſayd to hym that he ſhold goo and zequyre his frende Whyche had but one · and zequyze hym that he ſhold helpe hym in his nede .and Whan he had requyred hym /Anone he put out al his mayne out of hys hoWs .and Whan they Were out of the Waye or a ſlepe · he dyd do make ſecretly a pytte in the grounde /and Whan hit Was zedy and Wold haue buryed the body /he founde hit an hogge or a ſWyne and not a man /and thus this ſone preuyd this man to be a Kenay treWe frende of his fader And preuyd that his frendes Were fals frendes of fortune / And yet zehezeth the ſayd piezs Alphons ·that there Were tWo marchauntes one of Kandach and that other of Egypt Whiche Were ſo ioyned to geder by ſo grete frend ſhyp that he of Kandache cam on a tyme for to ſe his frende in Egypt of Whom he Was receyuyd right honurably/ And this marchaunt of Egypt had in his hoWs a fayre yonge mayden Whom he ſhold haue had in mariage to hym ſelf / Of the Whiche mayde thys marchaunt of

bandach was esprised with her loue so ardantly that he was right seek / and that men supposid hym to dye. And than the other dyd do come the phisisiens whiche sayd that in hym was no sekenes sauf passyon of loue / Thenne he axyd of the seek man yf there were ony woman in hys hows that he loued and maad al the women of his hows to come tofore hym / And than he chees her that sholdy haue ben that others wyf and saydy that he was seek for her. Than his frende sayd to hym. frende comforte your self / for trewly I gyue her to you to wyf with alle the do-waire that is gyuen to me wyth her + and leuer to suf fre to be wyth out wyf than to lese the body of his frende / And than he of bandach wedded the mayde + And went with his wyf and with his richesse ageyn in to his contre And after this anone after hit happend that the mar-chaunt of Egypt became so poure by euyl fortune. that he was constreyned to seche and begge his breed / by the con-tray in so moche that he cam to bandach / and whan he entrid in to the toun hit was derk nyght that he coude not fynde the hows of his frende / But went and lay thys nyght in an olde temple / And on the morne whan he sholdy yssue out of the temple / the offycers of the toun arestyd hym and saydy that he was an homycide and had slayn a man whiche lay there dede / And anone he confessid hyt wyth a good wylle. and had leuer to ben hangydy. than to dye in that myserable and pour lyf that he suffryd · And thus whan he was brought to Jugement. and sentence sholdy haue ben gyuen ayenst hym as an homycide · His frend of bandach cam and sawe hym and anone knewe that thys

Was his good frende of egypte · And forthwyth stepte in and sayd that he hym self was culpable of the deth of this man . and not that other / and enforsed hym in alle maners for to delyuer and excuse that other / And than whan that he that had don the feet and had slayne the man sawe this thyng / he consydered in hym self that these two men were innocent / of thys feet . And doubtyng the dyuyne Jugement . he came tofore the Juge & confessyd al the feet by ordre / And whan the Juge sawe and herde al thys matez and also the causes he consydered the ferme and trewe loue that was betwene the two frendes / and vnderstood the cause why that one wold saue that other and the trouth of the fayte of the hompade . And than he pardoned al the feet hooly and entierly . And after the marchaunt of bandach brought hym of egipt wyth hym in to his hows / And gaf to hym his sister in mariage / and departed to hym half his goodes . and so bothe of hem were riche / and thus weze they bothe verray faythful and trewe frendes . Furthermore notaries / men of lawe & crafty men shold and ought to loue eche other / and also ought to be contynent chaste and honeste / For by theyr crafftes they ought so to be by necessyte . For they conuerse and accompanye them ofte tyme wyth women / And therfore hit appertayneth to them to be chaste and honeste / And that they meue not the women nor entyse them to lawghe and Jape by ony dysordynate ensignes or tokenes / Titus liuius rehercith that the philosopher democzeon dyd do put out his eyen for as mocke as he might not beholde the women wyth out flesshly desyre / And how wel it is sayd

before that he dyd hit for other certeyn cause yet was this one of the pryncipal causes. And valerian tellyth that there was a yong man of rome of right excellent beaulte And how wel that he was right chaste. for as moche as his beaulte meuyd many women to desire hym, in so moche that he vnderstood that the parentes and frendes of them hadn suspecion in hym, he dyd his vysage to be kutte wyth a knyf and lancettis endlongn andn euerthwart for to deforme his vysage. and had leuer haue a fowle vysage and disformed. than the beaute of his vysage sholdn meue other to synne / And also we rede that there was a Nonne a virgyne dyd do put out bothe her eyen. For as moche as the beaute of her eyen meuyd a kyngn to loue her, whyche eyen she sente to the kyngn in a present. And also we rede that plato the right ryche phylosopher lefte his owne lande and contre. and chase his mansion and dwellyng in acha domye a toun, whiche was not onely destroyedn but also was ful of pestelence, so that by the cure andn charge and customaũce of sorowe that he there suffrid. myght escheWe the hetes andn occasions of lecherye / Andn many of hys dysciples dydn in lyke wyse / helemand reherceth that demostenes the philosopher laye ones by a noble woman for his dysporte, and playengn wyth her, he demaundedn of her what he shold geue to haue to doo wyth her / and she answerd to hym a thousand pens. & he saydn ageyn to her I sholdn repente me to bye hit so dere. and whan he aduysed hym that he was so sore chauffyd to speke to her for to accomplisshe his flesshly desyre. he despoyled hym al nakyd and wente and put hym in the myddes of the snowe / Andn

Ouyde rehercith that thys thynge is the leste that maye helpe and most greue the louers /and therfore saynt augustyn rehercith in his book de ciuitate dei that there was a right noble romayn named Marculian that wan and took the noble cite of Siracuse /And tofore er he dyd doo assayle hit or befight hit /& or he had do beshedde ony bloody he wepte and shedde many teeris tofore the cite /and that was for the cause that he doubted that his peple sholdy defoule and corumpe to moche dishonestly the chastyte of the toun .and ordeyned vpon payn of deth that no man sholdy be so hardy to take and defoyle ony woman by force what that euer she were . After thys the crafty men ought to vnderstonde for to be trewe + and to haue trouth in her mouthes / And that theyr dedes folowe theyr wordes + For he that sayth one thyng and doth another /he condempneth hym self by his word / also they ought to see wel to that they be of one accorde in goody / by entente / by word, and by dede . so that they be not discordaunt in no caas / But that euery man haue pure verite and trouth in hym self . For god hym self is pure verite / and men say comynly that trouth seketh none hernes ne corners + and trouth is a vertu by the whiche alle drede and fraude is put awey / Men saye trewly whan they say that they knowe . And they that knowe not trouthe . ought to knowe hyt, And alwey vse trouthe + for saynt austyn sayth that they that wene to knowe trouth . and lyueth euyl and vyciously it is folye yf he knoweth hit not/and also he sayth in an other place that it is better to suffre payn for trouth/ than for to haue a benefete by falsnes or by flaterye . And man

that is callyd a beste resonable and doth not his werkys after reson and trouthe. is more bestyal than ony beste brute + and knowe ye that for to come to the trouthe, hit cometh of a resonable forsight in his mynde + And lyenge cometh of an oultrageous and contrarie thought in hys mynde, for he that lyeth wittyngly, knoweth wel that hit is ageynst the trouthe that he thynketh, and hewf speketh saynt beznard and sayth + that the mouth that lyeth des: troyeth the sowle. and yet sayth saynt austyn in another place. for to say one thynge and do the contrarye, maketh doctryne suspeaous + And knowe ye verily that for to lye is a right perilous thynge to body and sowle / For the lye that the auncient enemye maad eue and Adam to beleue hym, made hem for to be dampned with alle their lignage to the deth pardurable / and made hem to be cast out of paradyse terrestre / For he maad them to beleue that god had not forboden them the fruyt / but onely by cause they shold not knowe that her mayster knewe / but how wel that the deuyl sayd thyse wordes / yet had he double entente to hem bothe / For they knewe anone as they had tastyd of the fruyt that they weze dampned to the deth pzdurable. And god knewe hit wel tofore. but they supposid wel to haue knowen many othez thynges / and to be lyke vnto his knowleche and saence + And therfore saith saynt poule in a pistyl + hit ne appertayneth to sauer or knowe more than behoueth to sauer or knowe / but to sauez or knowe by mesure or sobrenes / And Valerian rehzaith that there was a good woman of simausane that wold not lye vn to the kyng of Sealle whyche was named dyonyse + and

this kyng was so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle the worlde desired his deth and cursid hym. Sauf this wo may onely whiche was so olde that she had seen iij or four kynges reignyng in the contre. and euery mornyng as sone as she was ryseu she prayed to god that he wold gyue vnto the tyraunt good lyf and longe / and that she myght neuer see his deth / And whan the kyng dyonyse knewe this he sent for her / and mezuaylled moche hewf / for he knewe wel that he was sore kehated / and demaũded her. What cause meuyd hyr to praye for hym / & she answerd and sayd to hym. siz whan I was a mayde we had a right euyl tyraunt to our kyng of whom we coueyted sore the deth / and whan he was dede there came after hym a verse / of whom we coueyted also the deth. and whan we were delyuerd of hym. thou cameste to be our lord which art worst of al other. and now I doubte yf we haue one after the he shal be worse than thou art / and therfore I shal praye for the / and whan dyonyse vnderstood that she was so hardy in sayeng the trouth / he durst not do torment her for shame by cause she was so olde.

The fourth chappitre of the third book tretith of the maner of the fourth pawn & of the marchaũtis or chaũgers ca iiij

The fourth pawn is sette tofore the kyng. and is t formed in the forme of a man holdyng in his right hand a balaunce and the weyght in the lyft hand. and to fore hym a table/and at his gurdel a purse ful of money redy for to geue to them that requyred hit. and by thys peple ben signefyed the marchauntes of cloth lynnen and wollen /and of al other marchaundyses, and by the table that is tofore hym is sygnefyed the chaungers. and they that lene money/ & they that bye and selle by the weyght ben signefyed by the balaunces /and weyghtes/ And the

auſtomers/tollars /and receyuours of rentes & of money ben ſignefyed by the purſe · and knowe ye that alle they that ben ſignefied by this peple ought to flee auarice and couetyſe /and eſcheWe brekyng of the dayes of payment & ought to holde and kepe theyr promyſes . & ought alſo to zendre and zetore that . that is gyuen to them to kepe / & therfore hit is reſon that this peple be ſet tofore the kyng for as mocke as they ſignefye the receyuours of the tre ſ ſours zyal that ought alWey to be redy tofore the kyng. & to anſWer for hym to the knyghtes and to othez pezſones foz theyr Wages and ſouldyes / & therfore haue J ſaid that they ought to flee auarice . For auarice is as mocke to ſay as an adourez or as Worſhypar of fals ymages / and hewf ſayth tullyus that auarice is a couetiſe to gete that thyng that is aboue neceſſite / and it is a loue diſordynate to haue ony thyng/ & it is one of the Werſt thynges that is & ſpeially to prynces & to them that gouezne the thynges of the comunete . and this vyce cauſeth a man to do euyll and thys doyng euyl is Whan hit zeygneth in olde men /& hewf ſayth Seneque · that all Worldly thynges ben mor: tefyed and apetiſſed in olde men reſeruyd auarice onely Whyche alWey abydeth Wyth hym and dyeth With hym / But J Vnderſtonde not Wel the cauſe Whewf this cometh ne Wherfore hit may be , And hit is a foWle thyng and contrarye to reſon · that Whan a man is at the ende of his Jourmey for to lengthe his Viage and to ordeyne more Vi tayl than hym behoueth /& this may Wel be likned to the auaricious Wolf . for the Wolf doth neuer good tyl he be dede / and thus it is ſayd in the prouerbys of the Wyſe men

that thauaricious man doth no good tyl that he be deedy. and he desireth no thynge but to lyue long in thys synne/ for the couetous man certeynly is not good for ony thyng for he is euyl to hym self & to the riche & to the poure. and fyndeth cause to gaynsay theyr desire, & herof rehercith se-neque & sayth that antigonus was a couetous prynce, & whan tynque whiche was his frende requyred of hym a be-saunt / he answerd to hym that he demaũded more than hyt apperteynedy to hym/ & than tynque constrayned by grete necesite axid & requyredy of hym a peny/ & be answerdy to hym that it was no yefte couenable for a kyng. and so he was alwey redy to fynde a cause nought to geue. For he myght haue gyuen to hym a besaunt as a kynge to his frende, and the peny as to a poure man. & ther is no thyng so litil /but that the humanyte of a kyng may geue hyt/ auarice ful of couetise is a maner of al vices of luxurye & Josephus rehercith in the book of aũcient histories, that ther was in rome a right noble lady named paulyne /and was of the most noble of rome. right honest for the no-blesse of chastite / whiche was maryedy in the tyme that the wommen glorefyedy them in theyr chastyte vnto a yonge man /fayr. noble. andy riche aboue al other. & was lyke and semblable to his wyf in al caasis. Andy thys pawlyne was belouyd of a knyght namyd enymerancian andy was so ardantly esprised in her loue that he sent to her many right riche yeftes, and made to her many grete promyses / but he myght neuer torne the herte of her which was on her syde also colde andy harde, as marbyll, But she hady leuer to refuse his yeftes andy hys promyses.

Thay to entende to couetyſe and to loſe her chaſtyte / & We
zede alſo in the hiſtories of wome that there Was a noble
lady of wome Which lyued a ſolitarye lyf & Was chaſte &
honeſte . & had gadrid to gedez a grete ſõme of golde . and
had hyd hit in the erthe in a pytte Wyth in her hoWs / & Whan
ſhe Was deed / the biſſhop dyd do burye her in the chirche Wel
and honeſtly / and anone after this gold Was foũden and
bory to the byſſhop / and the biſſhop had to caſte hit in to the
pytte Where ſhe Was buryed. & thre dayes men herd her crye
& make grete noyſe / & ſay that ſhe brenned in grete payn
and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in the chir-
che . the neyghbours Went Vnto the byſſhop & tolde hym
therof / & the biſſhop gaf hem leue to open the ſepulcre . &
Whan they had openyd hit they fonde al the golde molten
With fire ful of ſulphre & Was pouzed & put in her mouth
& they herd one ſay . thou deſizedeſt this gold by couetyſe .
take hyt and drynke hyt / And thenne they took the
body out of the tombe / And hit Was caſt out in a preuy
place . Seneque rehezaith in the book of the cryes of
Women that auarice is foundement of alle Vyces / And
Valerian reheraith that auarice is a ferdful garde or kepar
of richeſſis . for he that hath oy hym or in his keppyng
moche money or othez richeſſis . is alWey aferd to loſe hit
or to be robbid or to be ſlayn therfore . & he is not eWrous
nez happy that by couetiſe getith hit / & al the euyls of this
Vice of auarice had a man of wome named ſeptenulle / for
he Was a frend of one named tarchus / & this ſeptenulle
brent ſo ſore & ſo cruelly in this ſynne of couetiſe . that he
had no ſhame to ſmyte of the hede of hys frend by trayſon

For as mocke as one framoſian had promyſed to hym as mocke Weyght of pure gold as the heed Wayed . & he bare the ſaid heed vpon a ſtaf thrugh the ate of wome . and he voyded the brayn out thewf & filled hyt ful of leed for to Weye the heuyar, this Was a right horrible & cruel auarice Ptolome kyng of egipciens purſeWed auarice in another manere. for Whan anthonie emperour of wome ſaWe that he Was right riche of gold & ſiluer/ he had hym in grete hate & tormentid hym right cruelly/ and Whan he ſhold periſſh by cauſe of his richeſſis . he toke al his hauoir & put hyt in a ſhippe/ & Went With alle in to the hye ſee to thende for to droWne & periſſh there the ſhippe and his richeſſes by cauſe anthonye his enemye ſholde not haue hit, & Whan he Was there he durſt not periſſhe hit ner myght not fynde in hys herte to departe from hit . but cam & brought hit agayn in to his hoWs Where he receyued the reWarde of deth therfore & With out doubte he Was not lord of the richeſſe but the richeſſe Was lady ouer hym, & therfore hit is ſayd in prouer he that a man ought to ſeignorie ouer the riches, & not for to ſerue hit . yf thou canſt deWly vſe thy richeſſe than ſhe is thy chamberer . & yf thou can not departe from hit & vſe hit honeſtly at thy pleſure. knoWe Verily that ſhe is thy lady /for the riches neuer ſatiſfyeth the couetous /but the more he hath the more he deſireth / & saluſte ſaith that auarice deſtroubleth fayth /poeſte, honeſte & al thiſe other goody Vertues / And taketh for thyſe Vertues / pryde /cruelte and to forgete god . and ſayth that al thynges be Vendable And after this they ought to be Waze that they lene not. to mocke ner make ſo grete creaũces by Whiche they may

falle in pouerte, for saynt ambrose saith vpon thoby. pouerte hath no lawe / for to owe hit is a shame / & to owe and not paye is a more shame. yf thou be poure be ware how thou borowest. & thynke how thou mayst paye & rendre agayn yf thou be riche thou hast no nede to borowe & aye. & it is said in the prouerbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wylt not ner mayst rendre & paye agayn. & also hit is saydn in reproche whan I lene I am thy frende / & whan I aye I am thyn enemye. as who saith 'god at the lenyng' & the deuyll atte rendryng. & seneke saith in his auctorites / that they that gladly borowe 'ought gladly to paye. & ought to surmoūte in corage to loue hem the better by cause they lene hem & ayde hem in her nede. for benefites & good tornes don to a man, ought to gyue hym thankynges therfore, andn moche more ought a man to repaye that is lent hym in his nede. but now in these dayes many men by lenyngn of their money haue made of their frendes enemyes. & herof speketh domas the philosopher & saith that my frende borowed money of me / & I haue lost my frende & my money / there was a marchaūt of gene & also a chaungeour whos name was albert ganor / & this albert was a man of grete trouth andn loyalte. for on a tyme there was a man cam to hym andn sayd and affermydn that he hadn delyuerydn in to his banke v hondred florynes of gold to kepe / whiche was not trouth for he lyed. whiche v C floryns the sayd albert knewe not of, ner coude fynde in al his bookes ony suche money to hym due, & this lyar coude brynge no wytnes. but began to braye. crye & deffame the said albert / & than this albert callydn to hym this marchaunt and sayd

dere frende take here v hondred florens Whiche thou affer-
meſt & ſayeſt that thou haſt delyuerd to me . & forthWyth
tolde hem and toke hem to hym . & lo this good man had
leuer to loſe his good than his good name and renome .
and this other marchaunt toke theſe florens that he had
Wrongfully receyued . and enployed them in dyuerſe mar-
chaundyſe in ſo moche that he gate and encreſid and Wan
With them x v thouſaud florens / and Whan he ſaWe that
he approched toWard his deth . and that he had no childrey /
he eſtabliſſhed albert his heyr in al thynges / & ſayd that
With the v hondred florens that he had receyued of albert
falſely / he had gotey alle that he had in the Worlde / & thus
by deuyne purueaūce he that had be a theef fraudelent / Was
maad afterWard a treWe procutour & atorney of the ſayd
albert / but noW in thyſe dayes there be marchaūtis that do
marchaundiſe With other mennis money Whiche is taken
to hem to kepe . & Whan they ben requyred to repaye hyt /
they haue no ſhame to denye hit apertly / Wherof hit happēd
that ther Was a marchaūt Which had a good & a grete na-
me & renome of keppyng Wel ſuche thynges as Was de-
lyuerd to hym to kepe . but Whan he ſaWe place & tyme / he
retayned hit lyke a theef . ſo hit befel that a marchaūt of
Without forth herd the good reporte & fame of this man /
cam to hym & delyuerd hym grete treſour to kepe / & thys
creſour abode iij yere in his keppyng / & after this thre yere
thys marchaunt came and requyred to haue his good de-
lyuerd to hym agayn . And thys man kneWe Wel that he
had no recorde ne Witnes / to preue on hym this duete / nor
he had no obligacion ne Wrytyng of hym therof .

In suche wyse that he denyed al entierly / and sayd playn ly he knewe hym not . and whan this good man herd and vnderstood this . he went sorowfully and wepyng from hym so ferre and longe that an olde woman mette wyth hym . and demaunded of hym the cause of his wepyng . and he sayd to her woman hit aperteyneth no thyng to the goo thy waye / And she prayed hym that he wold telle her the cause of his sorowe / For parauenture she myght geue hym counceyl good and proffytable / and thenne this man tolde to her by ordre the caas of his fortune / and the olde woman that was wyse and subtil demaunded of hym yf he had in that cite ony frende whiche wold be faythful and trewe to hym / and he sayd ye. that he had dyuerse frendes . Than sayd she goo thou to them and saye to them that they doo ordeyne and bye dyuerce cofres and chestes . And that they doo fylle them wyth sōme olde thynges of no va lue / & that they fayne & say that they be ful of golde siluer and other Jewels . and of moche grete tresour / & thenne that they brynge them to thys sayd marchaunt / & to say to hym that he wold kepe thē . for as moche as they had grete trust in hym / & also that they haue herd of his grete trouth & good renome / & also they wold go in to fer contre / and shold be longe er they retorned agayn / & whilis they speke to hym of this mater / thou shalt come vpon them & requyre hym that he doo delyuer to the . that thou tokest to hym . & I trowe by cause of tho good men that than shal proffre to hym the sayd tresour / and for the couetise to haue hit / he shal delyuer to the thy good agayn / but beware late hym not knowe they ben thy good frendes ner of thy knowleche

This was a grete and good counceyl of a woman /and verily it cometh of nature often tymes to women to geue counceyl shortly and vnadupsedly to thynges that ben in doubte or perilous and nedeth hasty remedye . and as ye haue herd . this good man dyde . and did after her coun= ceyl . and came vpon them whan they spack of the mater to the marchaunt for to delyuer to hym the sayde cofres to kepe whiche his frendes had fayned and requyred of hym that he had taken to hym to kepe/and than anone the sayd marchaunt sayd to hym I knowe the nowe wel . for I haue adupsed me that thou art suche a man /and camest to me suche a tyme / and delyuered to me suche a thynge whiche I haue wel kept ,and thenne callyd his clerk . and bad hym goo fetche suche a thyng in suche a place and delyuer hit to that good man / for he delyuerd hit to me / and than the good man receyuyd his goody ,and went his waye right joyously and glad.and this marchaunt trichour & deceyuour was defrauded from his euyl malice. and he ne had neyther that one ne that other ony thyng that was of value . and therfore hit is sayd in prouerbe to defraude the begilez is no fraude/and he that doth wel foloweth our lordy /and seneke sayth that charite enseigneth and techeth that men shold paye wel /for good payement is somtyme good confessyon /And this marchaunt trichour and de= ceyuour resembleth and is lyke to an hound that bereth a chese in his mouth whan he swymmeth ouer a water / for whan he is on the watre . he seeth the shadowe of the chese in the watre/and than he weneth hit be another chese & for couetyse to haue that.he openyth his mouth to catche

that/ & than the chese that he bare fallith doun in to the Wa
tre · and thus he loseth bothe two / & in the same Wyse Was
seruyd thys marchaũt deceyuour/for for to haue the cofres
Whiche he had seen / he delyuerd agayn that he Woldn
haue holden Wrongfully + and thus by his couetise & propre
malyce he Was deceyuedn + andn therfore hit apperteyneth
to euery goodn andn Wyse man to knowe and considere in
hym self how moche he hath receyued of other men + & vpon
What cõdycion hit Was delyuerd to hym/and it is to Wete
that thys thyngn apperteyneth to receyuours and to chaun
geours + andn to alle trewe marchauntis andn other What
that someuer they be /and ought to kepe theyr bookes of
resaytes and of payementes of Whom and to Whom & What
tyme and day / and yf ye demaunde What thyngn makyth
them to forgete suche thynges as ben taken to them to kepe
I answer and say that it is grete couetise for to haue tho
thynges to them self and neuer to departe from them, and
hit is alle her thought & desire to assemble alle the goodes
that they may gete + for they beleue on none other godn /
But on her richesses theyr hertes ben so obstynat · and this
suffyseth of the marchauntes +

The fifthe chappitre of the thyrd book treteth of physi-
ciens medecynes spycers and appotiquaries capitulo V

The pawn that is sette tofore the quene signefyeth
t the physicien/spicer apotiquare+and is formed in the
fygure of a man /and he is sette in a chayer as a maistre
and holdeth in his right hand a book and an ample or a
boye with oynementis in his lyft hand/and at his gurdel
his instrumentis of yron and of siluer for to make Inci-
sions and to serche woundes and hurtes.and to cutte apos
tumes. And by thyse thynges ben knowen the surgyens
By the book ben vnderstonden the phisiciens and all gra
mariens. logyciens / maysters of lawe/of geometrye,

arsmetrique + musique and of astronomye / and by the am
pole ben signefyed the makers of pygmentaries spicers &
apotiquaries / and they that make confeccions and confi
tes and medecynes maad wyth precious spyce / And by
the fferremens and Instrumentis that hangen on the
gurdel ben signefyed the Surgyens and the maysters
and knowe ye forcerteyn that a maystre and physicyen
ought to knowe the proporcions of lettres of gramayre +
the monemens the conclucions and the sophyms of logi
que / the gracious speche and utteraunce of rethorique /
the mesures of the houres and dayes + and of the cours of
astronomye + the nombre of arsmetrique. and the ioyous
songes of musique + and of al thyse tofore named / the
maysters of rethorique ben the chyef maysters in specula
tyf. and the two last that ben practiciens and werkes ben
callyd physiciens and surgyens / how wel they ben sage
and curious in thyse sciences · and how wel that mānys
lyf is otherwhyle put in thordonaunce of the physicien or
surgyen / yf he haue not sagesse and wysedom in hym self
of dyuerse wrytynges and is not expert / and medlyth
hym in the craft of physique / he ought better be callyd a
slear of peple than a phisicien or surgyen + For he may
not be a maystre but yf he be sewre and expert in the craft
of phisike that he slee not moo than he cureth and maketh
hoole / and therfore sayth auycenne in anforysme / yf
thou curest the seek man + And knowest not the cause +
wherof the maladye ought to be cured + hit ought to be
sayd that thou hast cured hym by fortune and happe more
than by ony kunnyng · And in al thyse maner of people

ther ought to be meurte of good maners / curtoſie of Wor-
des /chaſtite of the body promyſſe of helthe + and as to them
that been ſeek contynuel viſitacion of them + & they ought
to enquere the cauſe of theyr ſekeneſſys and the ſygnes
and tokens of theyr maladyes as is rehercid in the bookes
of the auctours by right grete dyligence, and ſpecially in
the bookes of ypocras galiene and of auycene, and When
many mayſters and phiſicians ben aſſemblid tofore the
maient or ſeke man. They ought not there to argue and
diſpute one agaynſt another / but they ought to make
good and ſymple relacion to gedre in ſuche Wyſe as they
be not ſeen in theyr dyſputyng one agaynſt anothre. for
to encroche and gete more glory of the World to them ſelf
than to trete the ſalute and helthe of the maient and ſeek
man. I meruaylle Why that When they ſee and knoWe
that When the ſeek man hath grete nede of helthe. Wherfore
than they make gretter obiecion of contrariouſnes for
as moche as the lyf of man is demened and put amonge
them / but hit is by cauſe that he is reputed moſt ſage and
Wyſe that argueth and bryngeth in moſt ſubtilties /
And alle this maner is amonge doctours of laWe that
tretith no thyng of mannes lyf / but of temporel thynges
that he is holden moſt Wyſe and beſt lerned / that by hys
counceyl can beſt acorde the contencions and dyſſencions
of men / and therfore ought the phiſicians and ſurgyens
leue When they be tofore the ſeek men al diſcencions and
contrariouſnes of Wordes + in ſuche Wyſe that hit apere
that they ſtudye more for to cure the ſeek men than for to
diſpute / And therfore is the phiſicien duly ſette tofore

the quene .ſo that it is figured that he ought to haue in hym ſelf chaſtyte and contynence of body / For hit appertyneth ſom tyme vnto the phiſicien to viſite and cure quenes ducheſſes counteſſes and alle other ladyes & ſee and beholde ſome ſecrete ſekeneſſis that falle and come otherwhile in the ſecretis of nature . And therfore hit appertyneth to them that they be chaſte and folowe honeſte and chaſtyte / and that they be enſaumple to other of good contynence . For valerian reherceth that ypocras was of meruayllous contynence of his body . For whan he was in the ſcoles of athenes / he had by hym a right fayr woman whiche was comyn / and the yongh ſcolers and the Joly felawes that weze ſtudents prompſed to the woman a reſaunte yf ſhe myght oz coude tozne the cozage of ypocras for to haue to doy with hez / and ſhe came to hym by nyght and dyd ſo mocke by her craft that ſhe laye with hym in his bedde / But ſhe coude neuer do ſo mocke that ſhe myght corumpe his chaſte lyuyng ne defoule the crowne of his conſcience . and whan the yonge men knewe that ſhe had hey with hym al the nyght . & coude not chaunge his contynence . they began to mocque her / and to aye & demaunde of hez the reſaunt that they had geuen to hez . And ſhe anſwezd that hit was holden and gaged vpon an ymage / for as mocke as ſhe myght not chaunge hys contynence ſhe callyd hym an ymage / and in ſemblable wyſe rehezceth valeryan of Sœnocrates philoſophez that theze lay with hym a woman alle nyght and temptyd hym dyſordonatly / but that right chaſte man .made neuez ſemblaunt to hez / nez he neuez remeuyd from hys

ferme purpoos/ in ſuche Wyſe as ſhe departed from hym al confuſed and ſhamed / Cornelius ſapion that Was ſent by the romayns for to gouerne ſpayn, as ſone as he entrid in to the caſtellys and in to the toWnes of that londe. he began to take aWeye al tho thynges that myght ſtere or meue his men to lecherye. Wherfore men ſayd that he drof and chaſed out of the hooſt moo than tWo thouſand hour dellys ·and he that Was Wyſe knoWe Wel that delyte of lecherye corupted and apayred the corages of tho men that ben abandoned to the ſame delyte /And hewf it is ſayd in the fables of the poetes in the firſt book of the truphes of the philoſophres by figure / that they that entrid in to the fontayne of the Sirenes or mermaydens /Were corumpid and they took them aWey Wyth hem / And alſo ye ought to knoWe that they ought to entende dylygently to the cures of the infirmytees in cyrurgerye / they ought to make theyr plaiſters accordyng to the Woundes of ſoores yf the Wounde be wunde·the enplaſtre muſt be wunde. and yf hit be longe·hit muſt be longe /And otherWhyle hit muſt be cured by his contrarye .lyke as it appertayneth to phiſique. for the hete is cured by colde, and the colde by hete and Joye by ſoWe ·and ſoWe by Joye·and hit happeth ofte tymes that mocke peple be in grete paſſe in takyng to mocke Joye and leſe her membres·and become half benomen in the ſodeyn Joye, and ioye is a replecaion of thynge that is delectable ſpred a brode in alle the membres Wyth right grete gladnes .and al men entende and deſyre to haue the ſayd right grete Joye naturelly / but they knoWe not What may enſue & come therof/ and this Joye cometh

otherWhile of Vertue of conſcience /And the Wiſe man is not Wyth out this ioye /and thys Joye is neuer interrupt ne in defaulte at no tyme . for hit cometh of nature . and fortune may not take aWey that nature geueth/ & marcial ſayth that Joyes fugetyues abyde not longe / but fle aWey anone ·and Valerian zeheraith that he that hath force and ſtrengthe reſonable. hath hit of Verray matiez of cõpleccõ and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as mocke poWer to departe the ſoWle fro the body · as hath the thonder Wherof hit happend that there Was a Woman named lyna Whiche had her huſbond in the Warre in the ſhyppys of the romayns ·and ſhe ſuppoſid Verayly that he Was deed but hit happend that he came agayn home . and as he entrid in to his yate / his Wyf mette Wyth hym ſodaynly not Warned of his comyng/Whiche Was ſo gladde and Joyous that in enbracyng hym ſhe fyl doun deed / alſo of anothez Woman to Whom Was reported by a fals meſſangez that hez ſone Was deed .Whiche Went hoom ſowufully to hez hoWs·and afterWard Whey her ſone came to hez/as ſone as ſhe ſaWe hym ſhe Was ſo eſmoued Wyth Joye that ſhe deyed tofore hym ·but this is not ſo grete meruayle of Women as is of the men . For the Women ben lykened Vnto ſofte Waye or ſofte ayez/and therfore ſhe is callyd Mulier Whiche is as mocke to ſaye in latyn as mollis aez and in engliſſh ſofte ayer/and hit happeth ofte tymes that the nature of them that ben ſofte and mole.taketh ſoner Inpreſſyon than the nature of men that be rude & ſtronge Valerie zeheraith that a knyght of rome named inſtaulo/ ſus that had neWly cõquerid & ſubdued the yle of corſika

and as he sacrefyed his goodes / he receyuyd lettres from the senate of Rome in Whiche were conteynedy dyuerce supplicacions / the Whiche Whan he vnderstood he was so glad andy so enterprisedy Wyth Joye . that he knewe not What to do / and than a grete Fume or smoke yssued out of the fire · in Whiche he dispayrid and fyl in to the fyre / Where he was anone deed / And also it is sayd that phylomenus lawghed so sore & distemperatly that he dyed al lawghyngy Andy We rede that ypocras the phisicien fondy remedye for thys Joye , For Whan he had longy dwellyd out of hys contrey for to lerne kunnyngy andy Wysedom · andy sholdy retorne vnto his parentis and frendes / Whan he approchyd nygh them · he sent a messanger tofore for to telle them his comyng / and cōmaunded hym to saye that he cam / for they had not longe tofore seen hym / and that they sholdy attempre them in that Joye or they sholdy see hym , And also We rede that titus sone of vaspasian Whan he hady conquerd Jherusalem and abode in the contrees by / he herde that his fader vaspasian was chosen by al the senate for to gouerne the empyre of rome / Wherfore he had so right grete ioye that sodeynly he lost the strength of al his membris and became al Jnpotent . And Whan Josephus that made the historye of the romayns ayēst the Jewys . Whiche was a right Wyse phisicien sawe and knewe the cause of this se kenes of the sayd titus . he enquyred of his folke yf he had in hate ony man gretely so moche that he myght not here speke of hym ne wel se hym . and one of the seruauntes of tytus sayd that he had one persone in hate so moche , that ther was no man in his courte so hardy that durst name

hym in hys presence. & than Josephus assigned a day Whā this man shold come, & ordeyned a table to be sette in the sight of titus, & did hit to be replenysshed plētously Wyth al dayntees, & ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in suche Wyse that no man shold hurt hym by the cōmaūdement of titus, & ordeyned boutelers, cokes, & other officers for to serue hym Worshipfully like an emperour. and Whan al this Was redy, Josephus brought in this man that titus hated & sette hym at the table tofore his eyen and Was seruyd of yong men With grete reuerence right curtoisly. & Whan titus behelde his enemye sette tofore hym With so grete honour. he began to chauffe hym self by grete felonye / and cōmaūded his men that this man shold be slayn, & Whan he saWe / that none Wold obeye hym / but that they alWey seruyd hym reuerently / he Waye so ardant. and enbracid Wyth so grete yre. that he that had lost al the force & strengthe of his body and Was al Impotent in alle his membrys. recouerd the helth agayn and strengthe of hys membris by the hete that entryd in to the vaynes and syneWes, And Josephus dyd so moche that he Was recouerydn and hoole / And that he helde that man no more for hys enemye / But helde hym for a veray treWe frende. And afterWard maad hym his loyal feloWe & companyoun. And the espycers and apoticaries ought to make treWly suche thynges as is cōmaunded to them by the phisiciens & they ought taccomplisse their billes & charge curiously With grete diligence. that for none other cause they sholdn be ocupied but in makyng medecynes or confeccōns treWly & that they ought vpon paryl of their soWle not to forgete

by neglygence ne recheleſnes to gyue one medecyne for an
other /in ſuche Wyſe that they be not ſleazs of men · And
that they doo put no falſe thynges in her ſpices for to en
payre or encreceyng the Weyght for yf they ſo do they may
better be callyd theuys than eſpicers or apoticaries /And
they that ben aauſtumed to make oynementis they ought
to make it properly of treWe ſtuffe and of good odoure
after the receptes of the auncient doctours . and after the
forme that the phiſicians and ſurgiens deuyſe Vnto them
alſo they ought to be Ware that for none auayle ne gyfte
that they ought haue /that they put in theiz medecynes no
thyng Venemous ne doyng hurte or ſcathe to ony perſone
of Whom they haue no good ne Veray knoWleche /to thende
that they to Whom the medecynes ſhold be geuen /torne not
to them huzt ne domage/ ne in deſtruccons of theiz neygh
bours/ & alſo that they that haue mynyſtrid tho thynges
to them . been not taken for parteners of the blame and
of the ſynne of them , The ſurgyens ought alſo to be de=
bonayz / amyable / and to haue pyte of theyz pacients · and
alſo they ought not be haſty to launce & cutte apoſtumes &
ſoores . ne opey the heedes · ner to azwache bones broken .
but yf the cauſe be apparant . For they myght ellys loſe
theyr goody renomee · And myght better be callyd bou=
chers thenne helars or guazyſſhours of Woundes and ſo=
res /And alſo hit behoueth that alle thys maner of pe=
ple a foze sayd that haue the charge for to make hoole
and guariſſhe alle manez of maladyes and Infizmytees
that they firſt haue the cure of them ſelf · and they ought
to purge them ſelf from alle apoſtumes and alle Vyces

in ſuche wyſe that they be net and honeſte & enformed in al good maners . and that they ſhewe hem hole and pure & redy for to hele other . and hereof ſayth boecius de conſolacione in his firſt book that the ſterres that ben hyd vnder the clowdes may gyue no light · And therfore yf ony may wyl beholde clerely the verite, late hym withdrawe hym fro the obſcurete and derknes of the cloudes of ygnoraũce for whan the engyne of a man ſheweth in ioye or in ſorow the penſee or thought is enuoluped in obſcurete and vnder the clowdes .

The ſixte chapitre of the thyrd book treteth of the ſixte payn whiche is likened to tauerners hoſtelers and vytayllers capitulo

The sixte pawn whiche stondeth tofore the alphyn t on the lyfte syde is made in this forme / For hit is a man that hath the right hond stratched out as for to calle men / and holdeth in his lift honde a loof of breed and a cuppe of wyn . and on his gurdel hangyng a bondel of keyes / and this resemblith the tauerners · hostelers / & sellars of vytayl . and thyse ought properly to be sette to fore the alphyn / as tofore a Juge / For there sourdeth oft tymes amonge hem contencion noyse and stryf . whyche behoueth to be determyned & trayted by the alphyn . whiche is Juge of the kyng / and hit apperteyneth to them for to seke and enquere for good wynes good vytayl for to gyue and selle to the byars · and to them that they herbe: rowe . And hit aperteyneth to them wel to kepe theyr herberowes and Innes / And alle tho thynges that they brynge in to theyr lodgyng . and for to putte in seu: re and sauf warde and kepyng . And the first of them is signefyed by the lyfte hand in whyche he bereth breed and wyn . And the second is signefyed by the right hand whiche is stratched out to calle men / and the thyrd is representyd by the keyes hangyng in the gurdel / and thyse maner of peple ought to eschewe the synne of glo: tonye / For moche peple come in to theyr howses for to drynke and for to ete / for whyche cause they ought reso: nably to rewle them self and refrayn them from to moche mete and drynke · to thende that they myght the more honestly delyuer thynges nedeful vnto the peple that come vnto them / & no thyng by outrage that myght noye the body · For hit happeth oft tymes that there cometh of

glotonye. tencions/stryfs/riottes. Wronges & molestacons by Whiche men lese otherWhyle their handes, theyr eyen and other of theyr membris / and somtyme ben slayn or hurte Vnto the deth as it is Wreton in Vitas patrum. as on a tyme an hermyte Went for to Vysite his gossibs. & the deuyl apperid to hym on the Wey in likenes of another hermyte for to tempte hym. & said thou hast left thyn hermytage / & goest to Visite thy gossibs/the behoueth by force to do one of the iij thynges that I shal say to the/thou shalt chese Whether thou Wolt be dronk. or ellys haue to do flesshlye With thy gossyb, or ellis thou shalt slee her husbondy Whiche is thy gossib also. & the hermyte that thought for to chese the leste euyl chase for to be dronke, andy Whan he cam Vnto them he drank so moche that he Was Veray dronk and Whan he Was dronke and eschauffyd With the Wyn. he Wold haue a doo With his gossyb / & her husbond Withstood hym, & than the hermyte sleWe hym. & after that laye by his gossyb & kneWe her flesshly. & thus by this synne of dronkenshpy he accomplisshed the tWo other synnes, By Whiche thyng ye may Vnderstonde and knoWe that Whan the deuyl Wyl take one of the castellys of Jhesu Cryst. that is to Wete the body of a man or of a Woman/he doth as a prynce that setteth a siege tofore a castel that he Woldy Wynne. Whyche entendeth to Wynne the gate. For he knoWeth Wel Whan he hath Wonne the gate. he may sone doo his Wylle Wyth the castel / And in lyke Wyse doth the deuyl Wyth euery man andy Womman/ For Whan he hath Wonne the gate / that is to Wete the gate of the mouthe by glotonye or by ony other synne.

ſe may do Wyth the offyces of the body al his Wylle as ye haue herd tofore / & therfore ought euery man ete & drynke ſobrely in ſuche Wyſe as he may lyue / & not lyue to ete glotonſly & for to drynke dronk/ye ſe comunely that a grete hole is ſuffiſid With right a litil paſture. & that one Wode ſuffiſeth to many olephauntes. hit behoueth a man to be fedde by the erthe or by the ſee / neuertheles it is no grete thyng to fede the belly. no thyng grete as is the deſire of many metes Whewf Quytilian ſaith/that hit happeth ofte tymes in grete feſtes & dyners. that We be fylled With the ſight of the noble and richewous metis & Whan We Wold ete We ben ſaciat and fylled / & therfore it is ſayd in prouerbe. hit is better to fille the belye than the eye. & lucan ſaith that glotony is the moder of al Vyces / & eſpeciall of lecherye/ & alſo is deſtroyar of al goodes / & may not haue ſuffyſaunce of lytil thynge. A couetous hongez What ſeeſt thou mete and Victayllis on the lande and in the ſee. & thy ioye is no thyng ellis but to haue playnteous dyſſhes & Wel filled at thy table lerne hoW men may demene theyr lyf Wyth litil thynge. and cathon ſaith in no Wyſe obeye to glotonye Whiche is frende to lecherye / & the holy doctour ſaynt auguſtyn ſayth. the Wyn eſchauffith the bely that falleth anone to lecherye/the bely and the membris ben neighbours to lecherie. & thus the Vice of glotonye prouoketh lecherye. Whewf cometh forgetenes of his mynde and deſtruccion of alle quyck and ſharpe reaſon / And is cauſe of diſtemperaunce of his Wyttes. What ſynne is foWlez than this ſynne & more ſtynkyng ne more dõmageous, for this ſynne hath taken aWey the Vertu of man

his prowesse languyssheth · his vertue is torned to dissame the strengthe of body and of corage is torned by the / and therfore saith Vasilly la graunt / late vs take hede howe we serue the bely and the throte by glotonye like as we were domke bestys / and we studye for to be lyke vnto belues of the see / to whom nature hath gyuen to be alwey enclyned towardy the erthe · & therto loke for to serue theyr belyes · & hewf sayth / Boecius de consolacione · in his fourth book / that a man that lyueth and doth not the condicions of a man · may neuer be in good condicion / than must hit nedes be that he be transported in nature of a beste or of a be lue of the see / how wel that right grete men and women ful of meruayllous sciences and noble counceyl in thyse dayes in the world be norisshed in this glotonye of wynes and metes / & ofte tymes hey ouerseen · how suppose ye · is hit not right a perilous thyngy that a lord or goueznour of the peple and comyn wele how wel that he be wyse / yf he eschauffe hym sone so that the wyn or other drynke surprise hym & ouercome his brayn / his wisedom is lost · for as cathon sayth / Ire enpesshethe corage in suche as he may not kepe verite and trouth / & anone as he is chauffid lecherye is meuyd in hym in suche wyse that the lecherye makyth hym to meddle in dyuerse bylayns dedes / for than his wysedom is a slepe and goon . & therfore sayth ouyde in his book de remedio amoris yf thou take many and dy uerse wynes · they apparayle and enforce the corages to be cherye · And thobye wytnessyth in his book that luxurie destroyeth the body and mynyssheth rychessys · she loseth the sowle · she febleth the strengthe she blyndeth the syght

and maketh the voys hoors and rawe· ha a right euyl & foule synne of dronkenshyp / by the perisshith virgynyte whiche is suster of aungellis possedyng al goodnes and seurte of al Joyes pardurable. Noe was one tyme so chauffyd wyth wyn that he discouerd and shewid to his sones his preuy membris in suche wyse as one of his sones mocqued hym / and that other couerd hem · and loth whiche was a man right chaste. was so assoted by moche drynkyng of wyn. that on a mounteyn he knewe hys doughters carnelly / and had to doo wyth them as they had ben his propre wyues / and Crete rehercith that Goece whiche was flour of the men, tresour of richesses / syngulez hous of sapyence / myrrour of the worldy, odour of goody renomee / and glorie of his subgettis lost al thise thynges by his luxurie. We haue seen that dyuerce that were Joyned by grete amytie to geder whiles they were sobre · that that one wold put his body in parell of deth for that other and whan they weze eschauffid with wyn and dronke / they haue ronne eche vpon other for to slee hem / and sōme haue ben that haue slayn so his frende / Herodes Antipas hady not doon saynt John baptist to ben beheded / ne hady the dynez ben ful of glotonye and dronkship. balthazar kyng of babylone hady not been chacedy out of his kyngdom ne be slayn yf he hady be sobre emonge hys peple whom tyrus and dares fondy dronken and slewe hym. The hostelers ought to be wel bespoken and curtoys of wordes to them that they receyue in to theyr lodgyng / For fayr speche & Joyous chieze and debonayr cause men to gyue the hostelez a goody name · And therfore hit is sayd in a comyn

prouerbe curtoyse langage & wel sayengh is moche worth and coste lytyl / And in another place it is saydh that curtosye passeth beaulte + also for as moche as many pa=rellys, andh aduentures may happen on the wayes & passa ges to hem that been herberowedh wyth in theyr Innes. therfore they ought to accompanye them whan they departe and enseigne them the weyes andh telle to them the pa=rilles / to thende that they may surely goo theyr vyage & Journey. Andh also they ought to kepe theyr bodyes / theyr goodes. & the good fame and renomee of theyr Innes we rede that Loth whan he had receyuydh the aungellys in to his hows right debonayrly + whiche he had supposid had ben mortal men and straungers, to thende that they shold eskape the disordynate andh vnnaturel synne of lecherye of the sodomytes, by the vertu of good fayth. he sette apart the naturel loue of a fader. & proferdh to them his dough=ters + whiche were vyrgyns. to thende that they shold kepe them andh defende them fro that villayn & horrible synne Andh knowe ye for certeyn that al tho thynges that been taken & delyuerd to kepe to the hoste or hostessis they ought to be sauf and yelden ageyn without appayryngh + for the hoste ought to knowe who that entrith in to his hous for to be herberowedh takith hit for his habitacion for the tyme he hym self, and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth wyth hym ben cōmysedh of right in the warde andh kepyngh of the hoste or hostelez / andh ought to be as sauf as they were put in his owne propre hows. and also suche hostes ought to holde seruauntes in theyr hows whiche shold be trewe & with out auarice, in suche wyse that they coueyte not to

haue the goodes of theyr gheſtes /and that they take not
aWey the prouendez fro theyr horſes Whan hit is gyuen to
them /that by thoccaſion thewof their horſes periſſhe not ne
faylle theyr maiſter Whan they haue nede/and myght falle
in the handes of theyr enemyes . For than ſhold the ſer-
uauntes be cauſe of that euyl . Wherfore their mayſters
ſholde ſee to/for With out doubte this thyng is Worſe than
theefte/ hit happend on a tyme in the parties of lombardye
in the cyte of Jene that a noble man Was lodgyng in an
hoſtelrye Wyth mocke companye .and Whan they had gyuen
prouendour to theyr horſes . in the firſt oure of the nyght
the ſeruaunt of the hoWs came ſecretly tofore the horſes
for to ſtele aWey theyr prouendez /and Whan he came to the
lordes hors /the hors caught With his teth his azme and
helde hit faſt that he myght not eſcape/and Whan the theef
ſaWe that he Was ſo ſtrongly holden / he began to crye for
the grete payn that he ſuffrd and felte / in ſuche Wyſe that
the noble mannys meyne cam Wyth the hoſte / But in no
manez /ner for ought they coude doo . they coude not take
the theef out of the horſes mouth Vnto the tyme that the
neyghbours Whiche Were noyed Wyth the noyſe came and
ſaWe hit /and the theef Was knoWen and taken & brought
to fore the Juge /and confeſſyd the fect and by ſentence
diffynytif Was hanged and loſt his lyf .and in the ſame
Wyſe Was another that dyd ſo /and the hors ſmote hym in
the Vyſage / that the pynte of the hors ſhoo & nayles abode
euez in his Vyſage /another caas right cruel & Vilaynous
fyl at tholouſe /hit happend a yongh man and his fader
Went a pylgremage to Saynt James in galice and Were

lodgyd in an hoſtelrye of an euyl hooſt and ful of ryght grete couetyſe in ſo mocke that he deſired and coueyted the goodes of the two pylgrymes . and here vpon aduyſed hym and put a cuppe of ſiluer ſecretly in the male that the yong man haze . and whan they departed out of theyr lodgyng / he folowed after hem and ſayd tofore the peple of the court that they had ſtolen and borne awey his cuppe and the yongh man excuſed hym ſelf and his fader . and ſayd they were Innocent of that caas / And thenne they ſerchyd hem / and the cuppe was founden in the male of the yonge man / and forthwyth he was dampned to deth and hanged as a theef . and thys feet woon . al the goodes that longed to the pylgrym weze delyuerd to the hoſte as confiſqued / And than the fader went forth for to do his pylgremage . and whan he came ageyn he muſt nedes come & paſſe by the place where his ſone hynge on the gybet / and as he came he complayned to god and to Saynt James how they myght ſuffre this aduenture to come vnto hys ſone . anone his ſone that hyngh ſpake to his fader & ſaid how that ſaynt James had kept hym wyth out harme / and bad his fader goo to the Juge and ſhewe to hym the myracle / and how he was Innocent of that fait / and whan this thyngh was knowen the ſone of the pylgrym was taken doun fro the gybet . and the cauſe was brought tofore the Juge / and the hooſt was acuſed of the trayſon . and he confeſſyd his treſpas / and ſayd he dyd hit for couetyſe to haue his goody . and than the Juge dampned hym for to be hanged on the ſame gybet where as the yonge pylgrym was hanged / And that J haue ſayd of the

ſeruauntes keyngh men / the ſame J ſay of the Women as chaumberers and tapſters/ for ſemblable caas fyl in ſpayn at ſaynt donne of a chaumberer . that put a cuppe in lyke Wyſe in the ſcrippe of a pylgryme / by cauſe he Wold not haue a do Wyth her in the ſynne of lecherye /Wherfore he Was hanged 'and his fader and moder that Were there Wyth hym Went and dyd her pylgremage·and Whan they came agayn they fonde her ſone lyuyngh / and than they Went & tolde the Juge /Whiche Juge ſayd that he Wold not beleue hit til a cok andy an henne Whiche wſted oy the fyre Were a lyue and the cok creWe /and anone they begay to Weye a lyue and the cok creWe and begay to croWe & to paſture. and Whan the iuge ſaWe this myracle / he Went & toke douy the ſone / and made the chaumberer to be taken andy to be hanged . Wherfore J ſay that the hoſtes ought to holde no tapſters ne chaumberers / but yf they Were good . meure & honeſte / For mâny harmes may be falle andy come by the diſordenate reWle of ſeruauntes .

The seuenth chappitre of the thyrd tractate treteth of ke=
pars of townes, customers & tolle gaderers capitulo vij

The gardes and kepars of citees ben signefyed by
t the seuenth pawn whiche stondeth in the lyft side to
fore the knyght, and is formed in the semblaunce of a
man holdyng in his lyft hond grete keyes and in hys
right hand a potte and an elle for to mesure wyth & ought
to haue on his gurdel a purse open. and by the keyes ben
signefied the kepars of the citees and townes and comyn
offyces, and by the potte and elle ben signefyed them that
haue the charge to weye and mete and mesure trewely,
and by the purse been signefyed them that receyue the

costumes / tolles / scawage, peages. and duetees of the cy-
tees and townes / and thyse peple ben sette by right tofore
the knyght and hit behoueth that the gardes & offycers
of the townes be taught and enseigned by the knyghtes
and that they knowe and enquyre how the citees & townes
ben gouerned whiche aperteyneth to be kept and defended
by the knyghtes. and first hit aperteyneth that the ke-
pars of the cyte be dyligent / besy / clere sayengh and louers
of the comyn prouffyt and wele. as wel in the tyme of
pees as in the tyme of warre / they ought alwey to goo in
the cyte and enquyre of al thynges and ought reporte to
the gouernours of the cyte suche thyng as they fynde and
knowe / and suche thynge as aperteyneth and to the seurte
of the same. and to denounce and telle the defaultes and
parellys that there be. and yf hit be in tyme of warre they
ought not to open the yates by nyght to no man. And
suche men as ben put in this offyce. ought to be of reno-
me and fame / trewe / and of good conscience / in suche ma-
nere that they loue them of the cyte or towne / And that
they put to no man ony blame or vylanye with out cause
by enuye couetyse ne by hate / but they ought to be sory and
heuy whan they see that ony man sholdy be compleyned on
for ony cause / For hit happeth ofte tymes that dyuerce
offycers accuse the good peple fraudulently / to thende that
they myght haue a thanke and ben praysed and to abyde
stylle in theyr offyces / and trewly hit is a grete and hye
maner of malice to be in wylle to doo euyl and dyffame
other wyth out cause to grete glorye to hym self / also the
kepars and offycers of cytees ought to be suche that they

ſuffre no Wronegs ne Bylonyes tofore the Juges and go uernours of citees Wythout cauſe to be don to them that ben Innocentes but they ought to haue theyr eyen and re garde vnto hym /that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes of al men / and they ought to drede and doubte hym, With out Whos grace theyr Watche and kepyng is nought . & that promyſeth to them that doubte hym ſhal be eWrous and happy and by hym ben al thynges accompliſſhed in good . hit is founden in the hiſtories of rome that them: pereur ffrederik the ſecond dyd do make a gate of marble of meruayllous Werk and entyle in the cyte of capnane vpon the Watre that renneth about the ſame /And vpon this yate he made an ymage lyke hym ſelf ſittyng in his mageſte and tWo Juges Whiche Were ſette / one on the right ſide and that other on the lift ſide ·and vpon the ſer cle aboue the hede of the Juge on the right ſide Was Wreton al they entre ſeurely that Wyl lyue purely .and vpon the ſercle of the Juge on the lift ſide Was Wreton /the vntre: We man ought to doubte / to do thyng that he be put to pryſon fore /and on the ſercle aboue the empereur Was Wreton . J make them lyue in miſery /that J ſee lyue diſ meſurably /and therfore hit apertyneth to a Juge to ſheWe to the peple for to drede and doubte to do euyl .and hyt apertyneth to the gardes and offycers to doubte the Juges and to do treWly theyr ſeruyces and offyces / & hit apertyneth to a prynce to menace the traytours and the malefactours of right greuous paynes . and herof We fynde in the auncient hiſtories of calle that the kyng denys had a broder Whom he louyd ſore Wel / But alWey

Where he went, he made heuy and triste semblaunt / & thus as they went bothe to gyder on a tyme in a chare / ther cam agan hem two pouze men with glad vysage but in foule habyte / and the kyng anone as he sawe them sprange out of his chaze and receuyd them worshipfully with grete zeuezence / Wherfore his barons were not onely ameruayl-led .but also angry in their corages +not withstondyng fere and drede lettedy them to demaunde hym the cause / But they made his broder to demaunde the cause and to knowe the certeynte /and whan he had herde his broder say to hym the demaunde/ that he was blessyd and also a kyng whiche was riche and ful of delytes and worshyppes . he demaundedy hym yf he wold assaye and knowe the grace and beneurte of a kyng . and his broder answerdy ye . and that he desired and requyredy hit of hym /And than the kyng cōmaunded vnto alle hys subgettis that they shold obey in al thynges onely vnto his broder . & than whan the ouze of dyner cam + and al thynge was zedy / the broder was sette at the table of the kyng + And whan he sawe that he was seruyd with right noble botelers and other offycers /and he herde the sownes of musique right melodyous . The kyng demaunded hym than . yf he sup-posid that he were beuerous and blessyd . and he answerdy I wene wel that I am right blessydy and fortunat / and that I haue wel proued and fele and am expert therof . And than the kyng secretly made to be hangedy ouer hys heed a sharpe cuttyng swerde hangyng by an hors here or a sylken threde so smale that no man myght see hit where by hit henge .And whan he sawe his broder put no more

his handy to the table / ne had no more regarde vnto his ſeruauntes / he ſayd to hym Why ete ye not · ar ye not bleſ= ſid / ſay yf ye fele ony thyng otherwyſe than bleſſid and wel . and he anſwerd for as moche as I ſee thys ſharpe ſwerde hangyng ſo ſubtilly & parilouſly ouer myn hede I fele wel that I am not bleſſyd / for I drede that hit ſholde falle on my hede · & thenne diſcouerd the kyng vnto hem al wherfore he was alwey ſo heuy cheryd & tryſte · For where he was he thought alwey on the ſwerde of the ſecrete vengaunce of god . whyche he kepte alwey in his herte / wherfore he had alwey in hym ſelf grete drede / and ther= fore he worſhyppyd gladly the poure peple with glady vy ſage and goody conſcience / And by this ſheweth the kyng wel . that what man that is alwey in drede is not alwey merry or bleſſyd / And hewf ſayth quyntilian that thys drede ſurmounteth alle othez maleurtees and euylles / for it is maleurte of drede nyght and day . And it is verite that to hym that is doubtedy of moche peple . ſo muſte he doubte moche / And that lorde is laſſe thenne his ſeruaũ= tes that dredeth his ſeruauntes / and truly hit is a right ſure thyng to drede no thyng but god & ſomtyme right har dy men ben cõſtrayned to lyue in drede / drede cauſith a man to be keſy to kepe the thynges that be cõmyſed to hym that they periſſhe not / but to be to moche hardy & to moche fezd= ful . both two ben vices . the comyn officers ought to be wyſe & wel aduyſed in ſuche wiſe that they take not of the peple ne requyre no more thã they ought to haue by reſon ne that they take of the ſellarz ne of the byarz no more thã the right auſtume . for they bere the name of a perſone

And therfore ought they to shewe them comune to alle men/and for as moche as the byars and sellars haue som tyme moche langage. they ought to haue wyth them these vertues. that is to wete pacience. and goodn corage wyth honeste / for they that ben despytous to the comune / been otherwhile had in vylayns despite. therfore beware that thou haue no despyte vnto the poure mendycants / yf thou wylt come and atteyne to thynges souerayn/ for the Iniu rye that is doon wyth out cause / torneth to diffame hym that doth hit. a Jogheler on a tyme behelde socrates & sayd to hym thou hast the eyen of corumpour of children andn art as a traytre, andn whan his dysciples herde hym, they wold auengyd theyr maister / but he repreuyd hem by suche sentence sayengn / suffre my felawes. for I am he andn suche one as he sayth. by the sight of my vysage, But I refrayne and kepe me wel from suche thyngn, this same so crates hym self was chidde & right foule spoken to of hys wyf. & she Imposid to hym many grete Iniuries wyth out nombre, and she was in a place aboue ouer his heed / and whan she had brawled y nough she made her water & pouredn hit on his heed / and he answerd to her no thyngn agayn sauf whan he had dryed and wyped his heed. he said he kne we wel that after suche wynde and thondre sholdn come rayne and watre. And the philosophers blamedn hym that he coude not gouerne two women / that was his wyf and his chaumberer / and shewyd hym that one cokke go: uerned wel x v hennes. he answerd to them that he was so vsed & acustumed with theyr chidyng that the chidyngis of them ne of straungers dyd hym no greef ne harme /

gyue thou place to hym that bralleth or chideth / And in ſuffryng hym thou ſhalt be his Vaynquyſſhour and cathon ſaith Whan thou lyueſt ryghtfully / recke the not of the Wordes of euyl peple / and therfore hit is ſayd in a comyn prouerbe · he that Wel doth retcheth not Who ſeeth hit . and hit is not in our power to lette men to ſpeke . and proſper ſayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes / ner to euyl men tenaons ſtryues & blames . & patience is a right no= ble Vertu. as a noble Verſefier ſaith / that patience is a right noble maner to Vaynquyſſhe . for he that ſuffreth ouerco= meth / and yf thou Wylt Vaynquyſſhe and ouercome . lerne to ſuffre . the peagers ner they that kepe paſſages ought not to take other peage ne paſſage money but ſuche as the prynce or the laWe haue eſtabliſſhed / ſo that they be not more robbours of money than receyuours of peage and paſſage · And hit apertayneth to them to goo out of the perelous Weyes and doubteuous for to kepe theyr offyce and they ought to requyre theyr paſſage of them that oWe to paye hit Wyth out noyeng and contenaon · and they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt ſo moche · that they falle in the hurtyng of theyr conſcience . For that ſhold be a maner of robberye / and hereof ſayth yſaye / Woo to the that robbeſt . for thou thy ſelf ſhalt be robbyd . The gardes or porters of the gates of cites and of the comyn good ought to be good and honeſte / and al trouth ought to be in them & they ought not to take ne WythdraWe the goodes of the comyn that they haue in kepyng more than apertayneth to them for their penaon or fee / ſo that they that ben made treſorers & kepers ben not named theuys /

For Who that taketh more than his / he shal neuer thryue
With al ·ner shal not enioye hit longe . for of euyl goten
good the third heyre shal neuer reioyse / & thys suffyseth ·

This eyght chappytre of the third book treteth of ribaul=
des . players of dyse & of messagers and curwurs ca viij

The ribauldes players at dyse & the messagers & cur
t wurs ought to be sette tofore the wok. for hit apper
teyneth to the wok Whiche is vicayr of the kyng to haue
men couenable for to renne here & there for tenquyre & es=
pye the places & citees that myght be contrarie to the kyng

And thys pawn that representeth this peple ought to be formyd in this maner. he must haue the forme of a man that hath longe heeris and black and holdeth in his ryght hand a litil money and in his lift hand thre dyse. & aboute hym a corde in stede of a gurdel. and ought to haue a boye ful of lettres, & by the first whiche is money is vnder-stonde they that be fole large & wastours of theyr goodes and by the second whiche is the dyse, ben representedn the playes at dyse, ribauldes & butters, & by the thyrd whyche is the boye ful of lettris. ben represented the messagers, currours, and berars of lettres, & ye shal vnderstonde that the rooke whiche is vycayre of the kyngn whan he seeth to fore hym suche peple as ben fole large and wastours, he is bounden to constitute and ordeygne vpon them tutours & curatours to see that they ete not ne waste in suche maner their goodes ne their heritages. that pouerte constrayne hem not to stele for he that of custume hath had habun-daunce of money & goeth & dispendeth hit folily & wasteth hit awey whan he cometh to pouerte & hath nought. he must nedes begge and aye his breed, or ellis he must be a theef For suche maner of peple, yf they haue been delycious they wyl not labouze, for they haue not lernydn hit,
Andn yf they be noble andn comen of gentylmen, they be a shamydn to axe andn begge, Andn thus must they by force whan they haue wastedn theyr owne propre goo-des yf they wyl lyue they must stele and robbe the goodes of other. Andn ye shalle vnderstonde that fole large is a ryght euyl vyce. For how wel that she doeth goodn andn prouffyt somtyme to other.

yet ſhe doth harme and dõmage to hym that ſo waſteth. Caſſiodore admoneſteth the fole lazges to kepe theiz thyn ges that by no neceſſite they falle in pouerte / and that they be not conſtrayned to legge ne to ſtele of other men. For he ſayth that hit is gretter ſubtilte to kepe wel his owne goodes than to fynde ſtraunge thynges. & that it is gret ter vertue to kepe that is gotey thay to gete and wynne more / & claudyan ſaith in like wyſe in his book that hyt is a gretter thynge & better to kepe that is gotey. thay to gete more / and therfore hit is ſayd that the pure demaũ/ deth & leggeth or he felith / & alſo hit is ſaid that he that diſpendeth more than he hath / with out ſtroke he is ſmyten to the deth / There was a noble man named Johy de gana zath whiche was right riche. and this man had but two doughters whom he maried to two noble men / and whan he had maried them / he loued ſo wel his ſones in lawe theyr huſbondes that in ſpace and ſucceſſyon of tyme / he departed to them al his goodes temporel / and as longe as he gaf to them they obeyed hym and were right dyligent to pleſe and ſerue hym / So hit befel that oy a tyme that he had alle gyuen in ſo moche that he had right nought / Than hit happend that they to whom he had gyuen his goodes. whiche were wont to be amyable and obeyſaunt to hym as longe as he gaf / whan the tyme came that he was pouze and knewe that he had nought. they became vn/ kynde / dyſagreable and dyſobeyſaunt. And whan the fader ſawe that he was deceyuyd by his delonayyte and loue of his doughters / he deſyred and oueyted ſore to eſchewe hys pouerte.

Atte laſte he Went to a marchaunt that he kneWe of olde tyme . and zequyred him to lene to hym x thouſand pound for to paye and rendre agayn Wyth in thre dayes / And he lente hit hym / and Whan he had brought hit in to hys hous / hit happend that hit Was a day of a ſolempne feſte on Whiche day he gaf to his doughters and her huſbond a right noble dyner / & after dyner he entred in to his chā bre ſecretly Wyth them / and dreWe out of a coffre that he had do make al neW ſhittyng Wyth thre lockes the mo ney that the marchaunt had lente hym · and poured hit out Vpon a tapite that his doughters & their huſbondes myght ſee hit / and Whan he had ſheWyd hit Vnto them he put hit Vp ageyn & put hit in to the cheſte fayning that hit had ben al his . & Whan they Were departed he bare the money home to the marchaunt that he had borWed hit of · and the neyt day after his doughters & their huſbondes ayed of hym hoW moche money Was in the cheſte that Was ſhette Wyth thre lockis / and than he fayned & ſayd that he had therin xxV thouſandy pounde . Whiche he kept for to make his teſtament and for to leue to his doughters & hem · yf they Wold bere hem as Wel to hym afterWard as they did Whan they Were maried . and than Whan they herde that . they Were right ioyous and glad / & they thought & con: cluded to ſerue hym honourably as Wel in clothyng as in mete and drynke and of alle other thynges neceſſarye to hym Vnto hys ende / And after this Whan the ende of hym began to aproche . he callyd his doughters and their huſbondes & ſayd to hem in this maner ye ſhalle Vnder: ſtonde that the money that is in the cheſte ſhette Vnder

thre lockes J Wyl leue to you/ſauyng J Wyl that ye geue
in my preſence ex J dye Whiles J lyue to the frere pre-
chours an hondred pounde, and to the frere menours an
hondred pounde/ and to the heremytes of ſaynt auſtyn fifty
pound to thende that Whan J am buryed and put in the
erthe ye may demaũde of them the keyes of the cheſt Where
my treſour is Inne /Whiche keyes they kepe / and J haue
put on eche keye a bylle and Writyng in Witneſſyng of
the thynges aboue ſayd / And alſo ye ſhal Vnderſtonde
that he dyd to be gyuen Whyles he lay in his deth bedde to
eche chirche and recluſe + and to your peple a certeyn quan
tite of money by the handes of his doughters huſbondes
Whiche they dyd gladly in hope to haue ſhortly the money
that they ſuppoſid in the cheſte + and Whan hit came to the
laſt day that he dyed + he Was borne to chirche and his eye
quye doon and Was buried ſolempnly + And the ſeuenth
day the ſeruyſe Worſhypfully accompliſſhed + They Went
for to demaunde the keyes of the religyous men that they
had kept + Whiche Were delyuerd to them / & than they Went
and openedy the coffre Where they ſuppoſid the money had
ben Inne /and there they fondy no thyng but a grete
clubbe + and on the handlyng Was Wreton / J Johy of ca-
nazath make this teſtament + that he be ſlayn Wyth thys
clubbe / that leueth his owne prouffyt /and gyueth hit to
other /as Who ſayth hit is no Wyſedom for a man to gyue
his good to his chyldren and kepe none for hym ſelf /
And ye ſhal Vnderſtonde that hit is a grete folye to dyſ-
pende and Waſte his good/ in hope for to recouer hit of other
be hit of ſone of doughter or right nygh kynne /for a man

ought to kepe in his hand in dispendyng his owne goodes
tofore he see that he dispende other mennys ' and he ought
not to be holden for a good man · that hath litil renomee
and spendeth many thynges , and I trowe that suche per-
sones wold gladly make noueltees as for to noye and
greue seignories and meue warres and tencions ageynst
them that haboūde in richessis and goodes / and also make
extorcions clamours and tribulacōns ayenst theyr lordes
to thende to waste the goodes of the peple . lyke as they
haue wasted theyres / and suche a wastour of goodes may
neuer be good for the comyn prouffyt / and ye shal vnder
stonde that after these wastours of goodes we saye that
the players of dyse and they that vse bordellys ben worst
of al other · for whan the hete of playeng at the dyse . &
the couetise of theyr stynkyng lecherye hath brought hem
to pouerte · hit followeth by force that they must be theuys
and robbours / and also dronkenshyp glotenye and alle
maner of euyls folowe them and myschyef / and they
folowe gladly the companyes of knyghtes and of noble
men whan they goon vnto the warre or batayllles . And
they coueyte not moche the victorye as they doo the rob
berye ' and they doo moche harme as they goo , And they
brynge lityl gayn or wynnyng ' wherof hit happend on a
tyme that saynt bernard rode on an hors about the contrey
and mette wyth an hasardour or dyse player . which sayd
to hym thou goddes man wylt thou playe at dyse with me
thyn hors ayenst my sowle . to whom saint bernard answerd
yf thou wylt oblyge thy sowle to me ayenst my hors / I
wyl a lyght doun and playe wyth the ' and yf thou haue

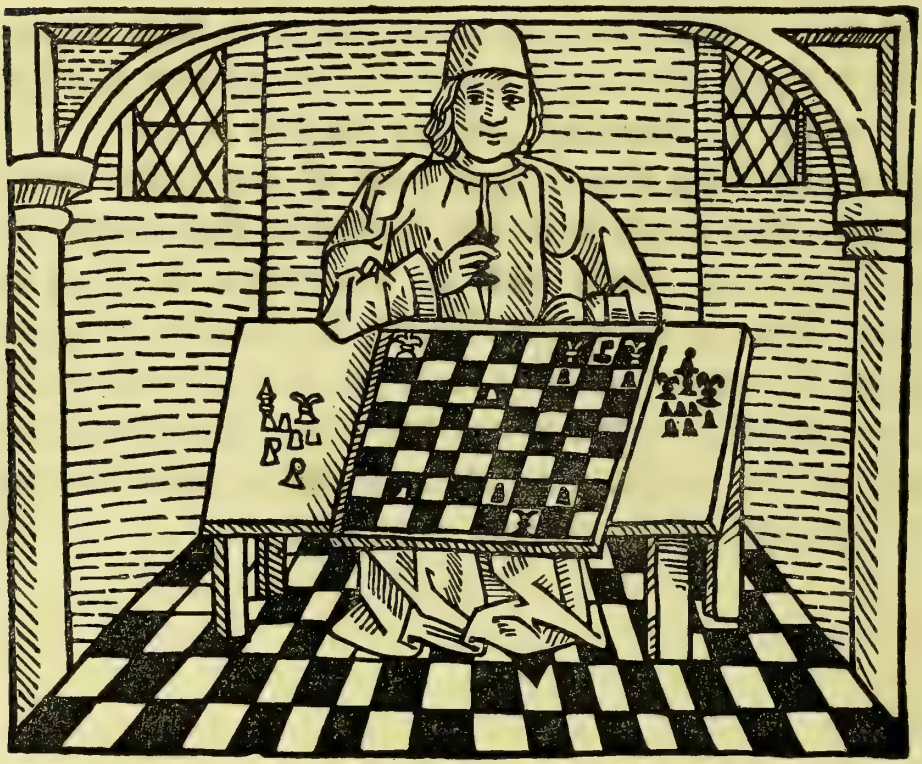
mo poyntes than J on thre dyse J promyse the thou shalt haue myn hors, and thenne he was glad . and anone caste thre dyse / and on eche dyse was a syse, whiche made .v. poyntes , and anone he took the hors by the brydel / as he that was seure that he had wonne / and sayd that the hors was his . and than saynt bernard sayd abyde my sone . for there be mo poyntes on the dyse than .v. and than he cast the dyse / in such wyse that one of the iij dyse cleste a sondre in the myddes / and on that one parte was bj . and on that other side an aas / and eche of that other was a syse . And than saynt bernard sayd that he had wonne his sowle for as mocke as he cast on thre dyse .vix. poyntes . and than whan this player sawe & apercey= ued thys myracle . he gaf his sowle to saynt bernard and became a monke and finysshed his lyf in good werkys . The arrours and berars of lettres ought hastely and spe dely do her vyage that is cõmanded hem . with out ta= ryeng . for theyr taryeng myght noye and greue them that sende hem forth . or ellis them to whom they be sent to And torne hem to right grete dõmage or vylonye / For whiche cause euery noble man ought wel to take hede to whom he delyuer his lettres and his maundementis . and otherwhiles such peple ben Jogelers and dronkelewe . and goon out of their weye for to see abbayes and noble men for to haue auauntage . and hit happeth ofte tymes / that whan such messagers or arrours ben enpesshid by ony ta= rieng / that other arrours bere letters contrarye to hys . and come tofore hym / of whiche thynges ofte tymes co= meth many thynges dissouenable of losse of frendes of

caſtellys · and of lande and many other thynges as in the feet of marchaundyſes / and otheyWhile hit happeth that a prynce for the faulte of ſuche meſſangers leſeth to haue Victorye vpon his enemyes 'and alſo there be ſome that Whan they come in a cite Where they haue not ben to fore .they ben more beſy to viſite the cyte and the noble men that dWelle therin .than they ben to do theyr voyage Whiche thyngs they ought not to do / but yf they had ſpeciall charge of them that ſent hem forth ſo to doo /

And alſo Whan they be ſent forth of ony lordes marchauntes they ought to be Wel Ware·that they charge hem not Wyth ouer moche mete on mornynges ne Wyth to moche Wyne on euenynges/Wherby her ſineWes & Wynes myght be greuyd 'that they muſt for faute of good reWle tarye . but they ought to goo and come haſtely for to reporte to theiz mayſters anſWers as hit apertyneth . and thiſe ſuffyſen of the thynges aboue ſayd /

The fourth tractate and the laſt of the progreſſyon and draughtes of the forſayd playe of the cheſſe

The fizſt chapitre of the fourth tractate of the cheſſe lorde in generc how it is maad capitulo primo



E haue deuyſed aboue the thynges that apertcyne
W Vnto the formes of the cheſſe men and of their offi ces. that is to Wete as Wel of noble men as of the comyn peple / Than hit apertcyneth that We ſholde deuyſe ſhortly how they yſſue and goon out of the places Where they be ſette. And firſt We ought to ſpeke of the forme and of the facion of the chequez after that hit repreſenteth and

Was made after / for hit Was made after the forme of the cyte of babyloyne / in the Whiche this same playe Was foũ dey as hit is sayd afore · and ye shal Vnderstonde that ye ought to considere here in foure thynges. The first is Wher fore that lxiiij poyntes ben sette in the eschequer Whyche ben al square / The second is Wherfore the bordeure about is hygher than the squarenes of the poyntes . The thyrd is Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles , The fourth is Wherfore the nobles and the peple ben sette in theyr propre places / Ther ben as many poyntes in the eschequer Voyde as fulle / and ye shal first Vnderstonde Wherfore that there ben lxiiij poyntes in the eschequyer / for as the blessyd sayntt Jherome sayth , the cite of babylone Was right grete and Was maad al square , and in euery quarter Was x xj myle by nombre and mesure / the Whiche nombre four tymes tolde Was lxiiij myles . after the ma ner of lombardye they be callyd myles . and in fraunce leu kes / and in englond they be callyd myles also , And for to represente the mesure of this cyte / In Whiche this playe or game Was founden , the philosopher that fond hit first ordeyned a tablier conteynyng lxiiij poyntes square , the Whiche ben compriséd Wyth in the bordeur of the tablyer / there ben xxxij on that one side and xxxij on that other side Whiche ben ordeygned for the beaulte of the playe. and for to shewe the maner and drawyng of the chesse as hit shal appere in the chappytres folowyng / And as to the second · Wherfore the bordeure of the eschequyer is hygher than the table Wyth in · hit is to be Vnderstonde that the bordeur about representeth the Walle of the cyte Whyche is

ryght hygh /and therfore made the philoſopher the hordeuz moze hygh than the tabliez. and as the bleſſyd Saynt Jherome ſayth vpon the prophefie of yſaye /that is to Wete vpon a mounteyn of obſcurete. Whiche Wordes Were ſayd of babylone Whiche ſtandeth in caldee / & no thyng of that babylone that ſtondeth in egypt. for it is ſo that babilone Whiche ſtondeth in caldee Was ſette in a ryght grete playn And had ſo hygh Walles that by the heyght of them Was contynuel derkenes enuyronned and obſcurete. that none erthly may myght beholde and ſee the ende of the highnes of the Walle. and therfore yſaye callyd hit the montaigne obſcure / And ſaynt Jherome ſaith that the meſuze of the heyght of this Walle Was thre thouſand paas. Whiche ey tendeth vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes / hit is to Wete that lombarde mylis and engliſſh myles bey of one lengthe / and in one of the cornerz of thys cyte Was made a tour trangle as a ſhelde, Whewf the heyght eyten ded vnto the lengthe of vij thouſand paas /Which is ſeuen myle engliſſh/and thys toure Was cakked the touz of babel the Walles about the touze made a Woman Whos name Was ſemyramis as ſayth Virgilius / As to the thyrdy Wherfore the comyn peple bey ſette tofore the nobles in the felde of the batayl in one renge, firſt for as mocke as they bey neceſſarye to al nobles / For the wok Whiche ſtondeth on the ryght ſide and is vycayr of the kyng What may he doo yf the labourez Weze not ſette to foze hym & labouredy to mynyſtre to hym ſucke temporel thynges as he neceſſarie for hym / And What may the knyght doo yf he ne hady tofore hym the ſmyth for to forge his armouzs. ſadellys

ayys and speres & suche thynges as aperteyneth to hym.
And what is a knyght worth wythout hors and armes /
certeynly no thyng more than one of the peple or lasse
perauenture, and in what maner sholdn the nobles lyue
yf no man made cloth and bought and solde marchandyse
And what sholdn kynges and quenes and the other lordes
doo yf they hadn no physiciens ne surgyens, Than I say
that the peple ben the glorye of the crowne and susteyne
the lyf of the nobles. And therfore thou that art lordn
or a noble man or knyght /despyse not the comyn peple
for as moche as they ben sette tofore the in the playe.
The secondn cause is why the peple ben sette tofore the no-
bles and haue the table voyde tofore them /is be cause they
begynne the bataylle /they ought to take hede and entende
to do theyr offyces andn theyr craftes 'in suche wyse that
they suffre the noble men to gouerne the cytees andn to
counceylle & make ordenaunces of the peple & of the ba-
taylle. how shold a labourer a plow man or a crafty man
counceyl andn make ordenaunce of suche thynges as he
neuer lernedn. and wote ne knoweth the mater vpon
what thyng the counceyl ought to be taken / Certes the
comyn peple ought not to entende to none other thyng but
for to do their seruyce andn the offyce whiche is couenable
vnto hem / and hit apperteyneth not to hem to be of coun
ceyls ne at the aduocacions 'ne to menace ne to threte no
man, for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun
ceyl is destroubledn 'and where good counceyl faylleth.
there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayedn and destroyedn,
And plato sayth that the comyn thynges andn the cytees

ben blessyd Whan they ben gouerned by Wyse men / or Whan the gouernours studye in Wysedom. and so hit aperteyneth to the comyn to lerne to vttre the maters. and the maner of procuracion tofore they be counceyllours / For hyt happeth often tymes that he that makyth hym Wyser than he vnderstandeth is made more foole than he is · and the iiij cause Wherfore that there ben in ẏ tablier as many poyntes voyde as been fulle / hit is to Wete for that they What euer they be that haue peple to gouerne / ought tenforce to haue citees & castellys & possessyons for to sette his peple therin and for to laboure and do their ocupacion / For for to haue the name of a kyng Wythout a royame is a name voyde. and honour Wythout prouffyt / and al noblesse Wyth out good maners / and Wyth out suche thynges as noblesse may be maynteyned. ought better be callyd folye than noblesse / and shameful pouerte is the more greuous Whan hyt cometh by nature of an hygh and noble byrth or hous For no man gladly Wyl repreue a poure man of the comyn peple. but euery man hath in despyte a noble man that is poure, yf he haue not in hym good maners and vertuous + by Whiche his pouertie is forgoten / And truly a royame Wyth out habundaunce of goodes by Whyche hyt may be gouerned and prospere. may better be callyd a latrocynye or a nest of theuys than a royame. Alas What habundaunce Was somme tymes in the royames / & What prosperite / in Whiche Was Justyce. and euery man in his offyce contente / how stood the cytees that tyme in Worship & renome. how Was renomed the noble royame of englond alle the World dradde hit and spake Worshyp of hit. How

hit now ſtandeth and in what habundaunce I reporte me to them that knowe hit . yf there ley theuys with in the wyame or on the ſee . they knowe that laboure in the wy= ame /and ſayle on the ſee /I wote wel the fame is grete therof /I pray god ſaue that noble wyame · & ſende good trewe and polletique counceilours to the goueznours of the ſame ·and nobleſſe of lignage with out puyſſaunce & myght is but vanyte and dyſpyte . And hit is ſo as we haue ſayd toforе that the ſchequer whiche the philoſopher ordeyned repreſented and figured the ſayd cite of baby = lone .and in like wyſe may hit figure a wyame and ſig = nefye alle the world · and yf men regarde and take heed vnto the poyntes vnto the mydes of euery quadrante & ſo to double euery quadrant to other the myles of this cite alwey doublyng vnto the nombre of lyiiij . The nombre of the ſame ſhold ſurmounte al the world·and not onely the world but many worldes by the doublyng of myles. whiche doublyng ſo as afore is ſayd ſhold ſurmounte all thynges . & thus endeth the firſt chappytre of the iiij book

The ſecond chapitre of the fourth tractate treteth of the draught of the kyng & how he meuyth in the chequer ca ñ

We ought to knowe that in thys World the kynges ſeygnourie and reygne eche in his wyame / And in this play We ought to knowe by the nature of hit how the kyng meueth hym and yſſueth out of his place / for ye ſhal vnderſtonde that he is ſette in the iiij quadrante or poynt of theſchequez .and When he is black, he ſtandeth in the Whyt , and the knyght on his right ſide in Whyt /& the alphyn and the wok in black /and on the lift ſide the iiij holden the places appoſite / and the reaſon may be ſuche/

For by cause that the knyghtes been the glorie and the crowne of the kyng they ensiewe in sēblable residence· that they do whā they be sette semblably on the right side of the kyng & on the lift side of the quene / & for as moche as the rook on the right side is vicayr of the kyng he accompany eth the quene in semblable siege that the alphyn doth whi che is Juge of the kyng / And in like wyse the lift rook & the lift alphyn accompanye the kyng in semblable siege · In suche wyse as they ben sette about the kyng in bothe si- des with the quene in maner of a crowne / that they may seurely kepe the royame that reluyseth and shyneth in the kyng & in the quene · in suche wyse as they may conferme & diffende hym in their sieges & in theyr places · and the more hastely renne vpon his enemyes / for as moche as the Juge the knyght and the vicayr / kepe & garnysshe the kyng on that one side / they that been sette on the other side kepe the quene / & thus kepe they al the strength & fermete of the royame · & semblably otherwhile for to ordeigne the thynges that aperteyne to the counceyl / & to the besoyngue of the royame / for yf eche man shold entende to his owne proper thynges · And that they deffendyd not ner toke hede vnto the thynges that apperteynen to the kynge · to the comyn · and to the royame · the royame sholdy anone be deuydedy in parties. And thus myght the Juge reygne / And the name of the dygnyte ryall sholdy be loste · And trewly for as moche as the kynge holdeth the dygnyte aboue alle other and the seignorye royall · therfore hit apperteyneth not that he absente hym long / ne wythdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme from the maister

ſiege of his wyame/ for Whan he Wyl meue hym. he ought not to paſſe at the firſt draught the nombre of iij poyntes & Whan he begynneth thus to meue from his Whyt poynt, he hath the nature of the wokes of the right ſide & of the lift for to goo black or Whyt. & alſo he may goo vnto the Whyt poynt Where the gardes of the cyte ben ſette /& in this poynt he hath the nature of a knyght/& thiſe two maners of meuyng apertayneth otherWhile to the quene /& for as mocke as the kyng & the quene that be conioyned to gedre by mariage ben one thyng as one fleſſhe & blood / therfore may the kyng meue on the lift ſide of his propre poynt al ſo Wel as he Were ſette in the place of the quene Whiche is black,& Whan he goeth right in maner of the wok onely & hit happen that the aduerſary be not couerd in ony poynte in the ſecond ligne 'the kyngh may not paſſe from his black poynt vnto the thyrd ligne / & thus he ſortiſeth the nature of the wok on the right ſide and lift ſide vnto the place of the knyghtes ,And for to goo right tofore in to the Whyt poynt tofore the marchaunt + andy the kyng alſo ſortiſt the nature of the knyghtes Whan he goeth on the right ſide in two maners . for he may put hym in the voyde ſpace tofore the phiſician/ & in the black ſpace tofore the tauerner . & on the other ſide he goeth in to other two places in like Wyſe that is tofore the ſmyth / andy the notarye /& thus as in goyngh out firſt in to four poyntes he ſorteth the nature of knyghtes , Andy alſo the kyngh ſortyſeth the nature of the alphyns at hys fyrſt yſſue in to two places . andy he may goo on boothe ſides unto the Whyte place voyde / that one tofore the ſmyth on that one ſide / and that other

tofore the tauerner on that other ſide. al theſe yſſues hath the kyng out of his propre place of his owne vertu Whan he begynneth to meue. but Whan he is ones meuyd fro his propre place. he may not meue but in to one ſpace or point and ſo from one to another /And than he ſortiſeth the na ture of the comyn peple /And thus by good right he hath in hym ſelf the nature of al / For al the vertue that is in the membris comyth of the heed / And al meuyng of the body. The begynnyng and lyf cometh from the herte And al the dygnyte that the ſubgettis haue by eyecuſion and continuel apparence of theyr meuyng and yſſue. the kyng deteyneth hit and is attribued to hym. the vic torye of the knyghtes. the prudence of the Juges / the auctorite of the Meſſagers or legates. the contynence of the quene /the concorde and vnyte of the peple, ſo ben alle thiſe thynges aſcribed vnto the honour & Worſhyp of the kyng/in his yſſue Whā he meuyth firſt/ the iij ligne tofore the peple he neuer exedyth. for in the third nombre alle maner of ſtates begynne to meue. For the trynary nom bre conteyneth thre parties. Whyche make a perfect nom bre / For a trynarye nombre hath i in iij /Whiche ioyned to gider maketh vj / Which is the firſt parfit nombre. and ſignefieth in this place vj perſones named that conſtitu te the perfecaon of a wyame. that is to Wete the kyng the quene Juges knyghtes Vicaires or legates. & the comyn peple/& therfore the kyng ought to begynne in his firſt me uyng of iij poyntes/that he ſheWe perfecaon of lyf as Wel in hym ſelf as in other/after the kyng begynneth to meue he may lede With hym the quene /after ỳ maner of his iſſue

For Why the quene foloweth vnto two angularye places after the maner of the alphyn/ and to a place Indyrecte in the maner of a wok in to the blacke poynt tofore the phisicien /herin is signefyed that the Women may not me ue nether make vowes of pilgremage ner of viage with out the wylle of theyr huslondes + For yf a Woman hath auowed ony thyng .her huslond lyuyng / and agayn say eng + she may not yelde ner accomplisshe her vowe / yf the huslond wyl goo ony where /he may wel goo wythout her And yf so be that the huslond wyl haue her wyth hym she is bounden to folowe hym /And by reson + for a man is the heed of a Woman / & not econuerso / For as to suche thynges as longe to patrymonye + they ben like / but the man hath power ouer her body / and so hath not the Woman ouer his /and therfore Whan the kyng begynneth to meue the quene may folowe . and not alwey Whan she meueth it is no nede the kyng to meue .for Why four the first lig nes be wyth in the lymytes and spac of the wyame / and vnto the thyrdy poynt the kynge may meue at his first meuyng out of his propre place .and Whan he passyth the fourth ligne he goeth out of his wyame / And yf he passe one poynt lete hym bewaar / For the persone of a kyng is acounted more than a thousandy of other + For Whan he exposith hym vnto the paylles of bataylle .hit is necessarye that he goo attempratly and slily/ for yf he be taken or deed or elles Incluside and shette vp + alle the strengthes of al othez faylle and al is finysshedy and lost And therfore he hath nede to goo and meue Wysely .and also therfore he may not meue but one poynt after hys

first meuyng but where that euer he goo foreward or bac
ward or on that one side or on that other or ellis corner-
wyse + he may neuer approche his aduersarye the kyng ner-
rer than in the thyrd poynt / And therfore the kynges in
bataylle ought neuer tapproche one nygh that other, And
also whan the kyng hath goon so ferre that al hys men
be lost / than he is sole, and than he may not endure long
whan he is brought to that extremyte / and also he ought
to take hede that he stonde not so that a knyght or another
sayth chek rook. than the kyng loseth the rook / That
kynge is not wel fortunat that lesith hym to whom his
auctorite delegate aperteyneth / who may do the nedes of the
royame yf he be pryuyd taken or deed was prouysour
of al the royame, he shal bere a sacke on his heed that
is shette in a cite, And al they that were therin ben ta-
ken in captyuyte and shette vp.

The ſecond chapitre of the fourth book of the quene & how ſhe yſſueth out of her place capitulo terão

When the quene Whiche is accompanyed vnto the kyng begynneth to meue from hez propre place / ſhe goeth in double maner / that is to Wete as an alphyn Whan ſhe is black / ſhe may goo on the right ſide & come in to the poynt tofore the notarye / & on the liſt ſide in the black poynt and come tofore the gardes of the cyte . and hit is to Wete that ſhe fortifieth in her ſelf the nature in iij maners firſt on the right ſide tofore the alphyn . ſecondly on the liſt ſide Where the knyght is · & thirdly Indirectly vnto the black poynt tofore the phiſicien . And the reaſon

Why / is for as moche as ſhe hath in her ſelf by grace / the auctorite that the wokes haue by cõmyſcion . for ſhe may gyue and graunte many thynges to her ſnbgettis gracyouſly / and thus alſo ought ſhe to haue parfyt Wyſedom as the alphyns haue Whiche ben Juges . as hit is ſayd aboue in the chappytre of the quene . and ſhe hath not the nature of knyghtes + and hit is not fittyng ne couenable thyng for a Woman to goo to bataylle for the fragylite & feblenes of her / and therfore holdeth ſhe not the Waye in her draught as the knyghtes doon . & Whan ſhe is meuyd ones out of her place ſhe may not goo but fro one poynte to another . and yet couertly Whether hit be forWarde or bac Wardy takyng or to be taken + and here may be ayyd Why the quene goeth to the bataylle Wyth the kyng / certeynly it is for the ſolace of hym + and oſtencion of loue / And alſo the peple deſire to haue ſucceſſyon of the kyng / and therfore the tartans haue theiz Wyues in to the felde With hem yet hit is not goody that men haue theyr Wyues Wyth hem / but that they abyde in the cytees or Within theyr oWne termys . For Whan they ben out of theyr cytees & lymytes they ben not ſure / but holden ſuſpecte / they ſhold be ſhamefaſt and holde al men ſuſpect. For dyna Jacobs doughter as longe as ſhe Was in the hoWs of her brethezn ſhe kept her Virgynyte, but aſſone as ſhe Went for to ſee the ſtraunge zegyons / anone ſhe Was corupt & deſoWledy of the ſone of ſichem / Seneka ſayth that the Women that haue eupl Vyſages ben gladly not chaſte / but theyr corage deſyzeth gladly the companye of men / and ſolinus ſayth that no beſtys femeles deſize to be touchedy of their males

Whan they haue conceyued / except Woman Whiche ought to be a beste reſonable . and in this caas ſhe leſith hir mayſon/ & ſidrac Witneſſith the ſame . & therfore in the olde laWe. the faderꝛ had dyuerſe Wyues and anellis to thende Whan one Was childe . they myght take another · they ought to haue the Vyſage enclyned for teſcheWe the ſight of the men . that by the ſight they be not meuyd With Inconty: nence & dyffame of other, and ouyde ſayth that there ben ſome that hoW Wel that they eſcheWe the dede · yet haue they grete ioye Whan they be prayed / & therfore ought the good Women fle the aſſoſitees & places Where they myght falle in blame & noyſe of the peple,

The fourth chappytre of the fourth book of the iſſuyng of the alphyn capitulo quarto

The maneze and nature of the draught of the al=
t phyn is ſuche that he that is black in his propre ſie=
ge is ſette on the right ſide of the kynge / and he that is
Whyt is ſette on the lift ſide / and ben callyd and
named black and Whyt / but for no cauſe that they be ſo in ſub=
ſtaunce of her propre colour / but for the colour of the pla
ces in Whiche they ben ſette / and alWey be they black or
Whyt Whan they ben ſette in theyr places · the alphyn on
the right ſide . goynge out of his place to the right ſyde
Ward cometh tofore the labourer / and hit is reaſon that
the Juge ought to deffende and kepe the labourers and poſ
ſeſſyons Whiche ben in his Juriſdycaion by al right and
laWe / And alſo he may goo on the lift ſide to the Boyde
place tofore the phiſician / for like as the phyſiciens haue
the charge to hele the Infirmytees of a man · In like Wiſe
haue the Juges charge to appeſe all ſtrynes & contenaons
and reduſe Vnto Vnyte . and to punyſſhe and correcte cau
ſes crymynels . the lift alphyn hath alſo tWo Wayes fro
his oWne place one toWard the right ſide Vnto the black
ſpace Boyde tofore the marchaunt · For the marchauntes
nede ofte tymes counceyl and ben in debate of queſtyons
Whiche muſt nedes be determyned by the Juges / and that
other yſſue is Vnto the place tofore the zybaulde & that
is by cauſe that ofte tymes amonge them falle noyſes ,
dyſcenaons theftes & manſlaughter , Wherfore they ought
to be punyſſhed by the Juges / & ye ſhal Vnderſtonde that
the alphyn goeth alWey cornerWyſe fro the thyrde poynt to
the thyrd poynt , keppynge alWey his oWne ſiege / for yf he
be black / he goeth alWey black / and yf he be Whyt he goeth

alwey whyte / the yſſue or goyng cornerly or angularly ſygnefyeth cautele or ſubtilyte / whiche Juges ought to haue . The thre poyntes betoken thre thynges that the Juge ought to attende · a iuge ought to further ryghtful and trewe cauſes . ſecondly he ought to geue trewe counceyl / & thyrdly he ought to geue & Juge ryghtful ſentences after the alegeaunces · & neuer to goo fro the ryghtwyſnes of the lawe / and it is to wete that the alphyn goeth in vj draughtes al the tablier wunde about /and that he cometh agayn in to his owne place · and how be hit that al reaſon and good perfeccion ſhold be in a kyng /yet ought hit al ſo ſpecially be in them that ben counceyllours of the kyng and the quene · and the kyng ought not to do ony thyng doubtouſe til he haue ayyd counceyl of his Juges and of the ſages of the wyame /and therfore ought the Juge to be parfaytly wyſe and ſage as wel in ſcience as in goody maners · and that is ſignefyed whan they meue from thre poyntes in to thre / for the ſixte nombre by whiche they goo al theſchequer . and brynge hem agayn in to her propre place in ſuche wyſe that thende of her moeuyng is conioy ; ned agayn to the begynnyng of the place fro whens they departed / & therfore hit is callyd a parfayt moeuyng .

The fifthe chappytre of the fourth tractate of the meuyng of the knyghtes capitulo quinto

After the iſſue of the alphyns We ſhal deuyſe to you
a the yſſue and the moeuyng of the knyghtes / and
We ſay that the knyght on the right ſide is Whyt . and on
the lift ſide black · & the yſſue & moeuyng of hem bothe is
in one maner Whan ſo is that the knyght on the right ſide
is Whyt/the lift knyght is black / the moeuyng of hem is
ſuche . that the Whyt may goo in to the ſpace of the alphyn
as hit apezyth of the knyght on the zyght ſyde that
is Whyt / And hath thre yſſues from his propre place /
one on his right ſide in the place tofore the labouzer .

and hit is Wel reſon that Whan the labourer and huſbond may hath labouzed the feldes . the knyghtes ought to kepe them · to the entente that they haue Vitaillles for them ſelf & theyr horſes / The ſecond yſſue is that he may meue hym Vnto the blacke ſpace tofore the notarye or draper for he is bounden to deffende and kepe them that make hys teſtamentes & couertours neceſſarye Vnto hys body . The thyrd yſſue is that he may goo on the lift ſyde in to the place tofore the marchaunt Whiche is ſette tofore the kyng the Whiche is blacke · and the reſon is for as mocke as he ought and is holden to deffende the kyngh as Wel as his oWne perſone / Whan he paſſyth the firſt draught · he may goo four Weyes / and Whan he is in the mydes of the ta ; bliez he may goo in to Viij places ſondry / to Whiche he may renne / and in like Wyſe may the lift knyght goo Whiche is blacke and goeth out of his place in to Whyt / And in that maner goeth the knyght fightyngh by his myght / & groWeth and multeplyeth in his poyntes / and ofte tymes by them the felde is Wonne or loſt/ a knyghtes Vertue and myght is not knoWen but by his fightyngh / And in his fightyng he doeth mocke harme for as mocke as his myght eytendeth in to ſo many poyntes / they ben in many parellis in theyr fightyngh . and Whan they eſcape they haue the honour of the game . & thus is hit of euery man the more Vayllyant / & the more honoured/ and he that meketh hym ſelf ofte tymes ſhyneth cleereſt .

The ſixte chappytre of the fourth tractate treteth of the yſſue of the wokes and of her progreſſyon capitulo Vj

The moeuyng & yſſue of the wokes Whiche ben Vy-
t cayrs of the kynge is ſuche / that the right wok is
black & the lift wok is Whyt/ and Whan the cheſſe ben ſette
as Wel the nobles as the comyn peple firſt in theyr propre
places · the wokes by theyr propre vertu haue no Waye to
yſſue but yf hit be maad to them by the nobles or comyn
peple / For they ben encloſid in theyr propre ſieges ·
And the reſon Why is ſuche . that for as moche as they
ben Vycayrs lieuetenauntes or cõmyſſyoners of the kyng
theyr auctorite is of none effect tofore they yſſue out /

And that they haue begonne to enhaunce their offyce / for as longe as they be wythin the palays of the kyng. so longe may they not vse ne execute theyr cōmyssyon. but anone as they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite / and ye shal vnderstonde that theyr auctorite is grete / For they re presente the persone of the kyng / and therfore where the tablier is voyde they may renne alle the tablier. in lyke wyse as they goon thrugh the royame / and they may goo as wel whyt as black as wel on the right side and lifte as foreward and backward / and as fer may they renne as they fynde the tablier voyde. whether hit be of his aduer-saries as of his owen felawshyp. and whan the rook is in the myddel of the tablier / he may goo whiche way he wyl in to four right lignes on euery syde. and it is to wete that he may in no wyse goo cornerwyse / but alwey right forth goyng and comyng as afore is said. wherfore al the subgettis of the kyng as wel good as euyl ought to knowe by theyr moeuyng that the auctorite of the vy-cayrs and cōmyssyoners ought to be veray trewe rightwys and Juste / and ye shal vnderstande that they ben stronge and vertuous in bataylle. for the two rookes onely may vaynquysshe a kyng theyr aduersarye and take hym. and take from hym his lyf and his royame / and this was doon whan Cirus kyng of perse and Darius kyng of medes slewe balthazar and took his royame from hym. whiche was neuewe to enylmoradach vnder whom thys game was founden.

The .vij. chappytre of the fourth book of the yſſue of the comyn peple capitulo ſeptimo

The yſſue and one moeuyng apertayneth vnto all the comyn peple /for they may goo fro the poynt they ſtande in at the fyrſt meuyng unto the thyrd poynt right forth tofore them /and whan they haue ſo doon they may afterward meue nomore but fro one poynt right forth in to another . And they may neuer retorne backward . and thus goyng forth fro poynt to poynt they may gete by vertue and ſtrengthe . that thynge that the other nobles fynde by dygnyte /and yf the knyghtes and other nobles helpe hem that they come to the fertheſt ligne tofore them where theyr aduerſaryes were ſette they requyre the dignyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace /

For yf ony of them may come to thys sayd ligne yf he be
Whyt as labourer draper, phisicien. or kepar of the cite been
they reteyne suche dignyte as the quene hath / for they haue
goten hit / & than retornyng agayn homeward / they may
go like as it is sayd in the chappitre of the quene / and yf
ony of the pawnes that be black · as the smyth · the mar-
chaunt / the tauerner, & ribaulde may come without dōmage
in to the same vtterest ligne / he shal gete by his vertu the
dynyte of the black quene / & ye shal vnderstonde / whan
thyse comune peple meue right forth in her ligne / & fynde
ony noble persone or of the peple of their aduersaries sette
in the poynt on ony side tofore hym / In that corner poynte
he may take his aduersarye whether hit be on the right side
or on the lift / & the cause is that the aduersaries ben sus-
pecious that the comyn peple lye in a wayte to robbe her
goodes or to take her persones whā they go vpward right
forth. and therfore he may take in the right angle tofore
hym one of his aduersaryes / as he had espied his persone
and in the right angle as robber of his goodes · & whether
hit be goyng forward or retornyng fro black to whyt, or
whyt to black / the pawne must alwey goo in his right lig
ne / & alwey take in the corner that he fyndeth in his waye
but he may not goo on neyther side til he hath been in the
fardest ligne of theschequer / & that he hath taken the nature
of the draughtes of the quene / & than he is a fiers · and
than he may goo on al sides cornerwyse fro poynt to poynt
onely as the quene both fightyng & takyng whom he fyn
deth in his waye. And whan he is thus comen vnto the
place where the nobles his aduersaries were sette he shal

he made whit fiers and black fiers / after the poynte that he is in / & there taketh he the dygnyte of the qnene, & alle these thynges may appere to them that beholdeth the playe of the chesse. and ye shal vnderstonde that no noble may ought to haue despyte of the comyn peple · for hit hath ben ofte tymes seen · that by their vertu and wytte / dyuerse of them haue comen to right hygh & grete astate as popes. bysshops / emperours and kynges / as we haue in the histo rye of dauyd that was made kyng of a shepherdy and one of the comyn peple & of many other / and in lyke wise we rede of the contrarye / that many noble men haue ben brought to myserye by theyr defaulte / as of gyges whiche was right riche of landes and of richessis · & was so proud that he went and demaunded of the god appollo · yf there were ony in the world more riche and more happy than he was / and than he herde a voys that yssued out of the fosse or pitte of the sacrefises / that a peple named agalans sophide whiche were poure of goodes & riche of corage was more acceptable than he whiche was kyng / & thus the god appollo alowed more the sapyence and the surete of the poure man & of his litel meyne / than he dyd the astate and the persone of gyges ne of his riche mayne / and hit is more to alowe a lytyl thyng seurly poursewed thenne moche good taken in fere and drede / and for as moche as a man of lowe lignage is by his vertue enhaunsed · so moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good reno mee. Virgyle that was borne in lombardye of the nacion of mantua and was of lowe and symple lignage / yet he was souerayn in wysedom and saience & the most noble

of al the poyntes . of Whom the renomee Was / is and ſhal be duryng the World . ſo hit happend that another poete ayyd and demaunded of hym Wherfore he ſette not the verſis of homere in his book · and he anſWerd that he ſhold be of right grete ſtrengthe and force that ſholde plucke the clubbe out of heraules handes / and thys ſuffiſeth the ſtate and draughtis of the compyn peple /

The viij chappytre and the laſt of the fourth book of the eppilogacion and recappytulacion of thys book capitulo viij.

Or as mocke as We ſee and knoWe that the memo
f rye of the peple is not zetentyf but right forgetyful
Whan ſome here longe talis and hiſtoryes Whicke they can
not al retayne in her mynde or record · Therfore J haue
put in thys preſent chappytre al the thynges aboueſayd as
ſhortly as J haue cõe / firſt this playe or game Was fou
den in the tyme of enylmerodach kyng of babylone / And
eycerſes the philoſopher otherWyſe named philometer foũde
hit / and the cauſe Why Was for the correccion of the kyng
lyke as hit apereth in thre the firſt chappytres · For the
ſayd kyng Was ſo tyrãnous & felouy that he myght ſuffre
no correccion / but ſleWe them and dyd do put hem to deth
that corrected hym · and had than doo put to deth many
right Wyſe men / than the peple keyng ſorouful and right
euyl pleſidy of this euyl lyf of the kyng prayed and re-
quyred the phyloſopher · that he Wold repaire and telle the
kyng of his folye / and than the philoſopher anſWerd that
he ſhold be dede yf he ſo dyde · and the peple ſaydy to hym /
certes thou oughteſt ſõer Wylle to dye to thende that thy
renome myght come to the peple . than the lyf of the kyng
ſhold cõtynue in euyl for lacke of thy cõceil . or by faulte
of repretenſion of the . or thou daruſt not doo & ſheWe / that
thou ſayeſt . & Whan the philoſopher herde thys he promyſid
to the peple that he Wold put hiny in deuoyr to correct hym
And thenne he began to thynke hym in What maner he
myght eſcape the deth andy kepe to the peple his promeſſe
And thenne thus he maady in thys maner andy ordeyg-
nedy the eſchequer of lyiij poyntes as is afore ſayde /
And dyd do make the forme of chequers of gold & ſiluer

in humayn figure after the facions & formes as we haue dyuysid & shewid to you tofore in theyr chappytres / & ordey ned the moeuyng & thestate after that, it is saidꝫ in the chappitres of theschessys / & whan the phylosophre had thus ordeyned the playe or game. & that hit plesid alle them that sawe hit, on a tyme as the philosopher played on hit the kyngꝫ came andꝫ sawe hit andꝫ desiredꝫ to playe at this game / And thenne the phylosopher began tensigne and teche the kyngꝫ the science of the playe andꝫ the draughtes / Sayengꝫ to hym first how the kyngꝫ ought to haue in hym self pyte debonayrte andꝫ rightwysnes, as hit is saydꝫ tofore in the chappytre of the kyngꝫ / And he enseygnedꝫ to hym the astate of the quene andꝫ what maners she ought to haue / Andꝫ thenne of the alphyns as counceyllours and Juges of the royame /
Andꝫ after the nature of the knyghtes / how they ought to be wyse. trewe andꝫ curtoys and al the ordre of knyght hode / And than after the nature of the vycayrs andꝫ Rookes as hit apperyth in theyr chappytre / Andꝫ after thys how the comyn people ought to goo eche in his offyce Andꝫ how they ought to serue the nobles. Andꝫ whan the philosopher hadꝫ thus taught andꝫ enseygnedꝫ the kynge andꝫ his nobles by the maner of the playe andꝫ had reprehendydꝫ hym of his euyl maners. The kyngꝫ demaunded hym vpon payn of deth to telle hym the cause why andꝫ wherfore he had made and founden thys playe / and game, And what thyng meuyd hym therto / and than the phylosopher constraynedꝫ by fere & drede answerd. that he hadꝫ promysedꝫ to the people whyche hadꝫ requyrydꝫ hym

that he shold correcte and reprise the kyng of his euyl vi
ces / but for as moche as he doubted the deth and hadz seen
that the kyng dyd do slee the sages & wyse men that were
so hardy to blame hym of his vyces. he was in grete an=
guysshe and sorowe, how he myght fynde a maner to cor=
recte andz reprehende the kyngz. and to saue his owen lyf
and thus he thought longe and studyed that he fond this
game or playe. whiche he hath do sette forth for to amende
and correcte the lyf of the kyngz and to chaunge his ma=
ners. and he adioustyd wyth al that he had founden thys
game for so moche as the lordes and nobles haboundyngz
in delices and richessis. and enioyeng temporel pees shold
eschewe ydelnes by playeng of thys game. and for to gyue
hem cause to leue her pensifnes andz sorowes. in auysyngz
and studyeng this game / and whan the kyng had herde al
thyse causes + he thought that the philosopher had founde a
good maner of correccion · & than he thankyd hym gretely
and thus by thensignement and lernyng of the philoso=
pher. he chaunged his lyf his maners and alle his euyll
condicions / and by this maner hit happendz that the kyng
that tofore tyme hadz ben vycious and disordynate in hys
lyuyngz was made Juste andz vertuous / debonayr / graci
ous and ful of vertues vnto al peple. And a man that
lyuyth in thys world without vertues lyueth not as a
man but as a beste. Thenne late euery man of what
condycion he be that redyth or herith this litel book redde +
take therby ensaumple to amende hym +

Explicit per Cayton.

REMARKS.

EVERY circumstance connected with the history of the Art of Printing, its invention and progress, possesses an interest which time only enlarges and heightens, as the experience of the world's history shows more and more forcibly the value of the benefit it has conferred on mankind. It is natural, therefore, that the honoured names of the Founders of our Art should be held in reverence, and all the circumstances connected with their early efforts for its promotion should be regarded with a deep and enduring interest. Schœffer, Faust, and Guttemberg, Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson, are familiar to us all, whilst the literary student and antiquary retrace their histories and discuss their respective claims. The Art was in its early stage regarded as a mystery, the very character of which invested it with a peculiar attraction and importance in the eyes of the uninitiated; and it was natural that those who first produced and promoted such an important invention, should desire to retain their secret, and receive the just reward of their ingenuity and skill. To this we may probably ascribe the fact, that such scanty particulars connected with the introduction of the Art have been handed down to us; and the remarkable circumstance that, when the general principles became known, and Printers multiplied with astonishing rapidity, the peculiar secrets, by which the inventors of the Art had attained the excellence observable in their works, should have followed them to the grave, and been lost to posterity.

So long as the only known method of printing from a raised surface was confined to the cutting each page on a block of wood, the labour of preparing to print was so tedious and slow, that this, the most skilful part of the whole operation, required the largest amount of the labour employed, and consequently that the whole of the process, and the power of practising it,

were of necessity entrusted and taught to the whole of the persons employed; and it is too consistent with the selfishness of human nature for us to be surprised that these men (probably mere labourers originally) should, when in possession of this valuable secret, and notwithstanding the oaths of secresy administered to them, desire to practise it in a greater degree for their own benefit than by working for others. Nor did the introduction of moveable types, cut singly or in words on separate blocks, very greatly facilitate the process, or render the skilled labour required much less.

But when Schœffer conceived the possibility of producing the whole of the type required for his work from the execution of one cut alphabet, he had in his own possession the knowledge of all the skill. He might in a separate apartment produce his types, and carry them to labourers of inferior skill, to put them together and take off the impressions. Such labourers would have but little power of carrying away and communicating his type-producing process to others. And we thus find, that although the Art of Printing spread with extraordinary rapidity,—the invention being ascribed to Guttemberg about the year 1442, and at the time of its introduction into England (1474) being practised in fifty different towns in Germany, France, and Italy,—our countryman was totally ignorant, at the time of its introduction, and apparently for some years after, of the process of casting types.*

* The mystery thrown over the operations of a Type-foundry, within my own recollection (thirty-four years), and the still greater secresy which had existed in my father's experience, testifies that the Art had been perpetuated by a kind of Druidical or Masonic induction from the first. An anecdote of my father's early struggles may illustrate this. At the death of Mr. Joseph Jackson, whom my father had served ten years as apprentice and foreman, there was in progress, for the University Press of Oxford, a new fount of Double-Pica Greek, which had progressed under my father's entire management. The then Delegates of that press—the Rev. Dr. Randolph and Rev. W. Jackson—suggested that Mr. Figgins should finish the fount himself. This, with other offers of support from those who had previously known him, was the germ of his prosperity (which he always gratefully acknowledged). But when he had undertaken this work, the difficulty presented itself, that he did not know where to find the punch-cutter. No one knew his address; but he was supposed to be a tall man, who came in a mysterious way occasionally, whose name no one knew, but he went by the *sobriquet* of "the Black Man." This old gentleman, a very clever mechanic, lived to be a pensioner on my father's bounty,—gratitude is perhaps a better word. I knew him, and could never understand the origin of his *sobriquet*, unless Black was meant for dark, mysterious, from the manner of his coming and going from Mr. Jackson's foundry.

The celebrated Bible by Guttemberg—known as the Mazarin Bible, a copy of which is in the British Museum—and the splendid production of the Psalmorum Codex by Schœffer, printed from cast metal types, not excelled by anything modern, had appeared at Mentz ten years before. The city of Mentz had been sacked, all its printers dispersed, and their types probably melted into bullets; the type-foundry was destroyed, and the dispersed printers were left once more to forage out the new method of producing their materials.

That Caxton used *separate* types for the productions of his Press, from the first, is undoubted; as also is the fact that they were of metal, and that the metal was cast in blocks ready to receive the letter from the hand of the engraver; but that each letter was so cut separately, is easily established by observing that throughout any book printed with these types, no two letters can be found exactly alike; whereas, if cast from a matrix, each perfect type must have been a facsimile of all the others, instead of having a mere family likeness. Now I find so much difference in the earlier works of Caxton, that I am disposed to think each work had, if not altogether new type, at least a very large proportion recut.

The first work attributed to Caxton's press in London, is 'The Game of the Chesse'; not this edition which I have reproduced, with woodcuts, but the edition which has the date 1474. Now this book bears such a strong likeness to the 'History of Troy,' which is known to have been printed at Cologne, that I have no hesitation in ascribing its production to that city. Apart from the similarity of the type,—which, considering its difference from any used in subsequent works, is sufficient evidence to satisfy my mind,—I find an exact similarity in the paper; the water-mark in the paper of the 'Game of Chesse' being the same as that in the paper of the 'History of Troy,' towards the end of the book (a bull's head pendent from part of a Catholic cross). The type has more of the secretary character in it, is much more regularly cut, and the press-work is so much better, (more even than in Caxton's subsequent works,) as to indicate clearly that, commencing with the second edition of the 'Game of Chesse,' the printer, *if the same*, was working under different circumstances, with different materials, and with somewhat less skill.

The date of Caxton's return to England, after his thirty years' absence, does not appear to be certainly known. Mr. Herbert, in his edition of

Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities,' 1785, says, quoting some anonymous authority:—"1471. King Edward IV. returns home; and *probably* Caxton attended him." To which he adds his own remark:—"This hypothesis, how ingenious soever, has yet this difficulty to get over,—the utter silence of Caxton concerning this affair, even when as fair an opportunity offered as could be, to have given at least some intimation thereof." Mr. Ames also says, speaking of the first edition of the 'Game of Chesse,' "This book has been compared with 'Recueil des Histoires de Troyes,' 1464, as well as with the translation thereof by Caxton, printed at Cologne, 1471, and a perfect resemblance found between them in the manner of printing; not only the page itself, but the number of lines in a page, the length, breadth, and the intervals between the lines, are alike."

Supported by this evidence, I look upon the second edition, the one of which I here present a copy, as the first known work produced from Caxton's press at Westminster.

The early works of Caxton, dating from the illustrated 'Game of Chesse,' show evidences of the frequent renewal of the types; and, although produced in succession, some variation in the appearance of the letter is perceptible; nor is this surprising, as they are evidently cut upon very soft metal (probably pewter), and the presses of those days had no means, so far as we know, of regulating the force with which the pressure was brought down upon the face of the type.

Mr. Knight, in his biography of Caxton, says:—"The earliest printing-press was nothing more than a common screw-press,—such as a cheese-press or a napkin-press,—with a contrivance for running the *form* of type under the screw after the form was inked." "As the screw must have come down upon the types with a dead pull; that is, as the table upon which the types were placed was solid and unyielding, great care must have been required to prevent the pressure being so hard as to injure the face of the letters."

In the copy of the 'Game of Chesse' which I have here attempted to reproduce, there are many pages which evidence the want of a regulating adaptation, showing that, if the pressman's arm was invigorated occasionally somewhat beyond propriety, the power of his muscle was the only limit to his pull; at any rate they are almost illegible, and if used until the number of the work required was completed, the types would scarcely be thought worth distributing for recomposition.

It may not be out of place to remark here, that I have heard it maintained that of some of his works Caxton produced more than one or two editions with the same date, the only argument for such a supposition being, that some pages in different copies are not precisely alike; but I think, if my suggestion that the types were of pewter be correct, the fact of a page or two of a work being battered and requiring to be reset during its progress, will sufficiently account for these small differences in the same edition.

Pewter, being an alloy of lead and tin, was probably the hardest known alloy fusible at a moderate temperature, and cast with facility in an iron or brass mould, until the process of freeing antimony from its native impurities (sulphur, arsenic, etc.) had been discovered, and its fusibility with lead and tin proved possible. If there is no certain record of the date at which this took place, it is a curious fact, that until a very recent date, when it was introduced into the manufacture of Britannia metal, the Regulus of Antimony, as the pure metal is called, had no application in the Arts, except as an alloy with tin and lead for the manufacture of printing-types.

Zinc, with tin and lead, is a hard alloy, but, from the volatile nature of the zinc, it becomes oxidized soon after attaining the point of fusion, and the mass becomes thick, pudding-like, and unworkable. An addition of arsenic might render the alloy of lead and tin harder; but from the recent date at which Chemistry became a science, it may be doubted whether in the time of Caxton it was known as a metal.

Perhaps a more practical argument in favour of pewter having been the metal on which Caxton's types were cut, is the appearance of the letters themselves in print. This however is an argument scarcely appreciable but to those who have handled the graver upon different kinds of metal. The softer metals, such as that we have under consideration, do not clear themselves from the tool as do the harder; nor does the tool clear what it cuts from the mass with the same freedom as if it were brass or steel; and occasionally the tool, when losing its keen edge, will drive the soft metal before it rather than cut it out clean. Now these appearances are very frequent in the types of the early works of Caxton printed at Westminster.

In going through the book, as I have been obliged to do, word by word and letter by letter, I have found several stray characters which induce me to think there must have been some intervening works for which other characters were required. For instance, at page 21, line 3 from bottom of

the page, occurs sh[1]; this is not to be found again in the volume, and being here used in the pronoun *she*, can have no particular signification in this place.

At page 34, line 2 from the bottom of the page, in the word *atticorum*, the last syllable is contracted.[2] The contraction of the termination *um* is common in Latin works of the period, but does not occur elsewhere in this book.

At page 67, line 4 from the bottom, is the old contraction y^{e}[3] for *the*, which is only used two or three other times throughout the book; but at the beginning of the same line occurs the contracted e,[4] properly used as indicating that m should follow, although it is frequently used in the book without any such meaning.

At page 77, line 21 from top, as in many other places, the h[5] with a stroke through the top will be found in the word *hymself*, equally without meaning.

At page 82, line 17, page 83, line 20, and page 85, line 16, is used a peculiar combination of the letters ad,[6] which I do not find in any other place in the book.

The ll[7] with a stroke through the top also frequently occurs, without any apparent motive for its presence. The anomalous presence of these characters raises the question of their original intent, and makes us doubt whether they were cut for their present places.

It will be seen, by the synopsis of the characters which follow these remarks, and by the book itself, that Caxton used combinations of letters, such as be, bo, he, ho, etc. Caxton was, therefore, the first to print from logotypes, an idea just now resuscitated by Major Beniowski and Mr. Greene, from the tomb to which it was condemned nearly four hundred years ago.

It will be observed that the sloping stroke which is generally used in place of the modern comma is of varied length, sometimes reaching through the body of the letter, sometimes but a fourth of the length, and when thus shortened, scarcely twice in the same position, above, below, or in the middle of the line: this I have endeavoured to imitate, although I believe it to be without meaning—merely the accidental breaking or battering of the type. (These strokes are generally perfect in what I may call the Cologne edition.) It may be observed that the stroke is very frequently used in places where a

[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7]

full-point is evidently wanted, and sometimes where, in modern punctuation, no pause at all would be indicated.

There are errors sufficient throughout the original work to make it doubtful whether revise-proofs were pulled in those days. I have closely followed the copy in these matters, except so far as "turned letters" were concerned.

Having thus given publicity to some ideas which have suggested themselves during the progress of my work, I have only now to make a few observations upon the book here offered to the literary and antiquarian public, and my motive for undertaking its reproduction.

The copy of Caxton's book which I have taken for my guide is in the King's Library at the British Museum. The fact that the original is printed from *cut* metal types, and is a mixture of black letter and the character called secretary, with all the shades of modification and approximation to each other of which the two styles are capable, makes the work of reproducing by means of cast types from a single cut punch somewhat difficult; but as I found the black letter and its approximations predominate, I have endeavoured, while keeping between the two styles, to adhere more closely to the black letter. Could I have had a copy of the original beside me during my progress, I should have succeeded more to my own satisfaction, and completed my work in one-fourth of the time. As it is, I hope it will not be esteemed a bad imitation of Caxton's book; and as few persons, except those who have decidedly antiquarian tastes, and the curious who take the trouble to seek for these old works in their present solitude, have any idea of their appearance, or even of any black-letter book, this may not be without use in conveying a knowledge of these things into quarters which the originals can never reach.

The paper upon which this book is printed has been made expressly for its publication, with the reed and water-marks imitated from the original,—that is to say, two of the water-marks; for the second or English edition, from which I have been copying, has five distinct water-marks, neither of which is like that used throughout the first edition. For the readiness with which this troublesome work was undertaken, after I had failed to obtain it in several other quarters, and the pains and care used to assimilate it to the original,—as I think, with much success,—I owe my acknowledgments to Mr. Wilmot, of Shoreham Mills, near Sevenoaks.

My motive in producing this book has been partly to enable my contemporaries better to appreciate the industry of our worthy countryman William Caxton, but more especially to assist in raising funds for the completion and endowment of a benevolent institution for decayed Printers. Should the Public feel as much interest in the Charity as I do, and the Learned think well of this publication, we shall have rendered a not unworthy tribute to the memory of William Caxton, in the completion and endowment of the Printers' Almshouses at Wood Green, Tottenham.

VINCENT FIGGINS.

West-street, West Smithfield, London,
May 1*st*, 1855.

A LIST

OF

THE WORKS ASCRIBED TO CAXTON,

As printed by Mr. Knight in his 'Biography of Caxton,' and furnished to him for the 'Penny Cyclopædia' by Sir Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian of the British Museum; with date of production, where known, and Catalogue and Press Mark, for finding such as are in the Library of the British Museum.

K. L. means King's Library.
G. L. „ Grenville Library.
The King „ retained by his Majesty George III., when he presented his Library to the Museum.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
The King.		1464	1. Le recueil des Histoires de Troyes, compose par raoulle le feure, Chapellein de Monseigneur le Duc Philippe de Bourgoingne en l'an de grace milcccclxxiiii. Fol.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		2. Propositio clarissimi Oratoris Magistri Johannis Russell, decretorum doctoris ac adtunc Ambassiatoris Edwardi Regis Anglie et Francie ad illustr. Principem Karolum ducem Burgundie super susceptione ordinis garterij, etc. 4to.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 1.	1471	3. Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, composed and drawen out of diverce bookes of latyn into Frensshe by Raoul le ffeure in the yere 1464, and drawen out of frensshe in to Englisshe by William Caxton at the commaundement of Margarete Duchess of Bourgoyne, &c., whyche sayd translacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in 1468 and ended in the holy cyte of Colen 19 Sept. 1471. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 23.	1474	4. The Game and Playe of the Chesse, translated out of the French, fynysshid the last day of Marche, 1474. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 1.		5. A second edition of the same. Fol., with woodcuts.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 3.	1475	6. A boke of the hoole lyf of Jason. Fol.
K. L.	167. c. 1.	1477	7. The Dictes and notable wyse Sayenges of the Phylosophers, transl. out of Frenshe by lord Antoine Wydeville Erle Ryuyeres, empr. at Westmestre. Fol.
		1478	8. The Morale Prouerbes of Cristyne of Pisa. Fol.
? K. L.	C. 11. c. 2.	1480	9. The Book named Cordyale, or Memorare Novissima, which treateth of The foure last things. Begun 1478, finished 1480. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 4.	1480	10. The Chronicles of Englond. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 24.	1480	11. Descripcion of Britayne. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 5. C. 21. d.	1481	12. The Mirrour of the World or thymage of the same. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 3.	1481	13. The Hystorye of Reynart the Foxe. Fol.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
K. L.	C. 10. b. 6. C. 21. d.	1481	14. The Boke of Tullius de Senectute, with Tullius de Amicitia, and the Declamacyon, which laboureth to shew wherein honour sholde rest. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 4.	1481	15. Godefroy of Boloyne; or the laste siege and conqueste of Jherusalem. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 7. 598. i.	1482	16. The Polycronycon, 1482. Fol.
B. M.	C. 21. d.	1483	17. The Pylgremage of the Sowle. Translated from the French. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 5. 1–2	1483	18. Liber Festivalis, or Directions for keaping Feasts all the Yere. Westm., fol.
? K. L.	C. 11. c. 5. 1–2		19. Quatuor Sermones. Fol., no date.
B. M.	C. 21. d.	1483	20. Confessio Amantis, that is to saye in Englisshe, 'The confessyon of the Louer,' maad and compyled by Johan Gower, squyer. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 11. d. 8.	1483	21. The Golden Legende. Westm., fol.
			22. Another edition of The Legende. Sm. fol.
		1483	23. A third, fin. at Westmr., 20 May, 1483, fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 8.	1483	24. The booke callid Cathon (Magnus). Transl. from the French. Fol.
			25. Parvus Chato. Fol., no name or date.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 6. C. 21. d.	1484	26. The Knyght of the Toure. From the French. Fol.
The King.	C. 11. c. 17.	1484	27. The Subtyl Historyes and Fables of Esope. Translated from the French. Fol.
	C. 21. c. 1. C. 11. d. 19.		28. The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, or Knyghthode. From the French. Assigned to 1484. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 22.	1484	29. The Book Ryal; or the Book for a Kyng. Fol.
		1485	30. A book of the noble Hystoryes of Kynge Arthur and of certen of his Knyghtes, which book was reduced in to Englysshe by syr Thomas Malory Knight. Fol.
B. M.	C. 10. b. 9.	1485	31. The Lyf of Charles the Grete Kyng of Fraunce and Emperour of Rome. Fol.
		1485	32. Another edition of the same. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 10.	1485	33. Thystorye of the noble ryght valyaunt and worthy Knyght Parys and of the fayr Vyenne the doulphyns doughter of Vyennoys. Transl. from French. 1485, fol.
		1486	34. The Book of Good Maners. Fol. [Ames says, 1487.]
K. L.	The King.	1489	35. The Doctrinal of Sapyence. Transl. from the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 21. d.	1489	36. The Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye. Translation from the first part of Vegetius de Re Militari. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 8.	1490	37. The Arte and Crafte to knowe well to dye. From the French. Fol.
K. L. G. L.	C. 10. b. 12. C. 21. d. 9723.	1490	38. The Boke of Eneydos, compyled by Vyrgyle. Transl. from French. Fol.
K. L.	167. c. 9.		39. The Tales of Cauntyrburye. Fol., no date.
G. L.			40. Another edition. No date or place.
			41. Infancia Salvatoris. 4to.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
B. M.	C. 21. d.		42. The Boke of Consolacion of Philosophie whiche that Boecius made for his comforte and consolacion. Fol., no date or place.
B. M.	C. 11. c. 9.		43. A collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's minor poems. 4to. [Ames says, in the Public Library at Cambridge.]
K. L.	C. 10. b. 13.		44. The book of Fame, made by Gefferey Chaucer. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 10.		45. Troylus and Creseyde. Fol.
			46. A book for Travellers. Fol.
? G. L.	10542.		47. The Lyf of St. Katherin of Senis. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 14.		
K. L.	C. 10. b. 15.		48. Speculum Vite Christi; or the myrroure of the blessyd Lyf of Jhesu Criste. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 16.		49. Directorium Sacerdotum: sive Ordinale secundum Usum Sarum. Westm., fol.
B. M.			50. The Worke (or Court) of Sapience, composed by John Lydgate. Fol.
B. M.			51. A Boke of divers Ghostly Maters. Westm., fol. [A copy in the Public Library, Cambridge.]
K. L.	C. 10. b. 17.		52. The Curial made by Maystre Alain Charretier. From the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 18.		53. The Lyf of our Ladye, made by Dan John Lydgate, monke of Burye. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 19.		54. The Lyf of Saynt Wenefryde, reduced into Englysshe. Fol.
B. M.			55. A Lytel Tretise, intytuled or named The Lucidarye. 4to.
B. M.			56. Reverendissimi viri dni Gulielmi Lyndewodi, LL.D., et epi Asaphensis constitutiones provinciales Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. 24mo.
B. M.			57. The Historye of Kynge Blanchardyne and Queen Eglantyne his wyfe. Fol.
G. L.	C. 21. d. 6209.		58. The Siege of the noble and invyncyble Cytee of Rhodes, by Caoursin. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 20.		59. Statuta apud Westmonasterium edita, anno primo Regis Ricardi tercii. Fol.
G. L.	6002.	(1490)	60. Statutes made in the first, second, and third Parliaments of Henry VII. Fol. [The only fragment of this work known is two leaves.]
B. M.			61. The Accidence. (Mentioned in one of the Sale Catalogues of T. Martin of Palgrave, No. 71.)
K. L.	C. 10. b. 1.		62. The Prouffytable Boke of mānes soule, called the Chastysing of Goddes Chyldern. Fol.
B. M.			63. Horæ, etc. 12mo. A fragment of eight pages, now at Oxford, in the library bequeathed to the Bodleian by the late F. Douce, Esq.
B. M.			64. A fragment of a Ballad, preserved in a volume of scraps and ballads in the British Museum. [A part of the edition of CHAUCER.]
B. M.	C. 25 c. 5.		65. The Fifteen O's and other Prayers.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		66. Meditacions sur les sept Pseaulmes penitentiaulx.
B. M.	C. 21. d. 5.		67. Indulgence for the defence of Rhodes. 1480.

*The following is a List of the Places where, and the Persons by whom, the Art of Printing was practised at the time Caxton commenced it in England.**

1457.	*Mayence*	Guttemberg, Faust, and Schœffer.
1461.	*Bamberg*	Albert Pfister.
1465.	*Subbiaco*	Con. Sweynheim and Arn. Pannartz.
1467.	*Rome*	The same printers.
1467.	*Elfield*	H. and N. Rechtermuntze and Wm. Spyes.
1467.	*Cologne*	Ulricus Zel (or Zell), of Hanau.
1468.	*Augsburg*	Giuther Zainer, of Reutlingen.
1469.	*Venice*	John and Vindeline of Spire.
1469.	*Milan*	Philippus de Lavagna.
1470.	*Nuremberg*	Joannes Sensenschmidt.
1470.	*Paris*	U. Gering, M. Crantz, and M. Friburger.
1470.	*Foligno*	Emilian de Orfinis.
1470.	*Trevi*	Joan Reynardi.
1470.	*Verona*	Joan de Verona.
1471.	*Strasburg*	J. Mentel or Mentelius, H. Eggestein.
1471.	*Spire*	Petrus Drach.
1471.	*Treviso*	Girardus de Lisa, de Flandria.
1471.	*Bologna*	Balthasar Arzoguidi.
1471.	*Ferrara*	Andreas Belfortes.
1471.	*Naples*	Sixtus Reisinger of Strazburg.
1471.	*Pavia*	Anton de Carcano.
1471.	*Florence*	Bernard Cennini and Son.
1472.	*Cremona*	D. de Paravisino and S. de Merlinis.
1472.	*Fivizano*	Jam Baptista (a priest) and Alexander.
1472.	*Padua*	B. de Valdezochio and M. de S. Arboribus.
1742.	*Mantua*	Petrus Adam de Michaelibus.
1472.	*Montreal* (*Sicily*)	Ant. Mathias and Balth. Corderius.
1472.	*Jesi*	Fridericus Veronensis.
1472.	*Munster* (*in Argua*)	Helias Heyle, or de Louffen.
1472.	*Parma*	Andreas Portiglia.

* Santander gives this List from their earliest known works.

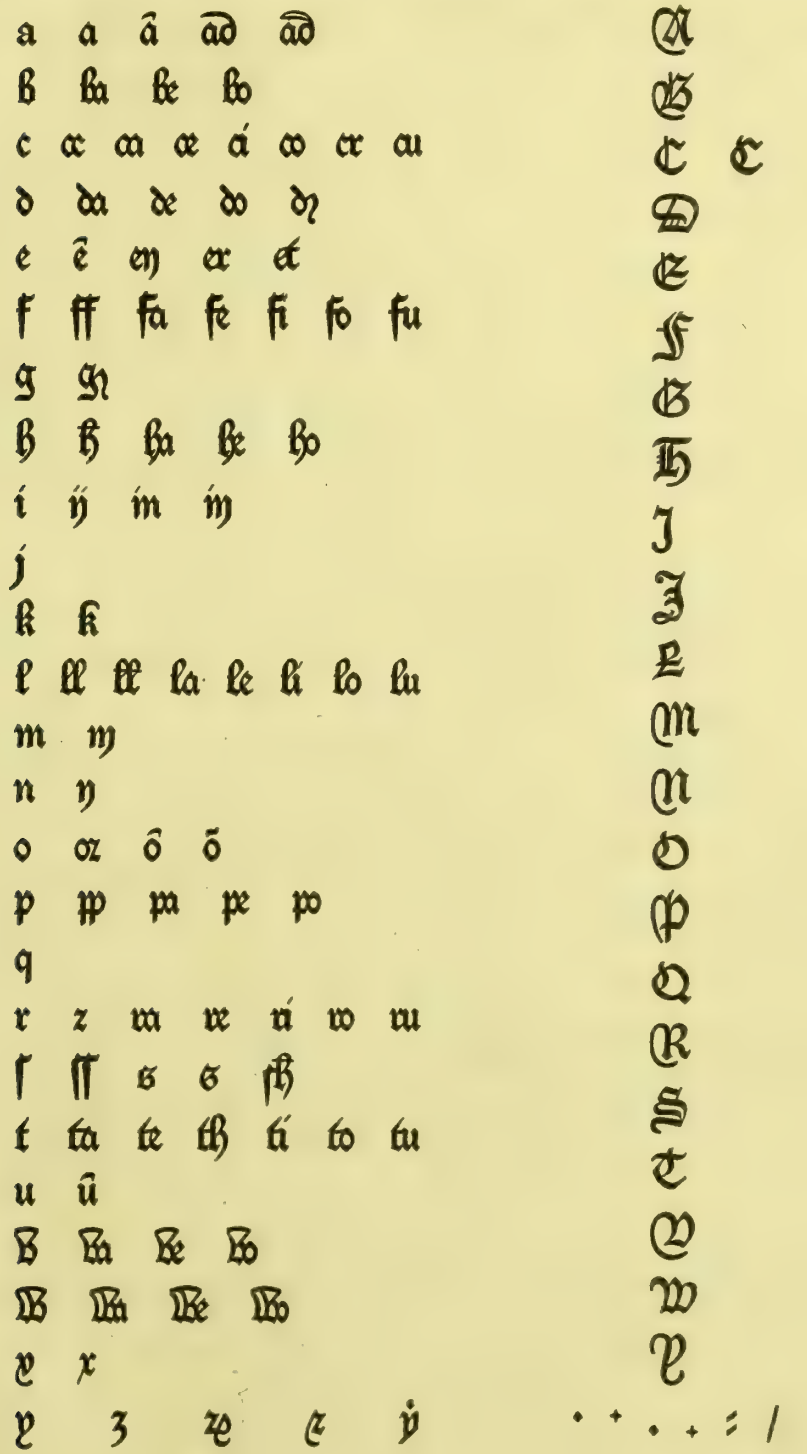
1473.	*Messina*	Henricus Alding.
1473.	*Brescia*	Thomas Ferrandus.
1473.	*Ulm*	Joan Zainer, of Reutlingen.
1473.	*Buda*	Andreas Hess.
1473.	*Langingen*	Printer's name not known.
1473.	*Merseburg*	Lucas Brandis.
1473.	*Alost*	Theodoricus (or Thierry) Martens.
1473.	*Utrecht*	Nicholas Ketelaer and Ger. de Leempt.
1473.	*Lyons*	Bartholomeus Buyer.
1473.	*St. Ursio (near Vicenza)*	Joannes de Rheno.
1474.	*Vicenza*	Leonardus Achates of Basle.
1474.	*Como*	Ambr. de Orcho and Dion. de Paravicino.
1474.	*Turin*	John Fabri and Joanninus de Petro.
1474.	*Genoa*	Matthias Moranus and Mic. de Monacho.
1474.	*Savona*	John Bon (Bonus Johannes).
1474.	*Eslingen*	Conradus Fyner.
1474.	*Basle*	Bernardus Richel and Bertholdus Rodt.
1474.	*Vallis Sanctæ Mariæ**	Fratres Vitæ Communis.
1474.	*Valencia*	A. F. de Cordova and L. Palmart.
1474.	*Louvain*	Joannes de Westphalia.
1474.	*Westminster*	William Caxton.

* Santander conjectures this place to be Marihausen, a convent of the Brethren of Common Life, situated on the Rheingau, a territory belonging to Mayence. This Order was instituted by Gerard the Great, under the rule of St. Augustine; they were bound to transcribe the works of the Fathers and other ecclesiastical authors; but when Printing deprived them of their means of subsistence, they applied themselves to the practice of that Art.—*From Johnson's Typographia.*

Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine

SYNOPSIS

of Characters and Combinations used in 'The Game of Chesse.'



A Tribute

TO THE MEMORY OF WILLIAM CAXTON.

JUST PUBLISHED,

Price Two Guineas, suitably bound in calf,

A REPRODUCTION OF THE FIRST WORK PRINTED IN ENGLAND,

The Game of the Chesse.

"THE NAME OF CAXTON, LIKE THE NAMES OF MANY OTHER GOOD AND RESPECTABLE MEN, WOULD HAVE HELD NO PLACE IN THE MEMORY OF THE WORLD BUT FOR THE ART HE LEARNT IN HIS LATTER YEARS. COLOGNE RENDERED THE NAME OF CAXTON A BRIGHT AND VENERABLE NAME;—A NAME THAT EVEN HIS COUNTRYMEN, WHO ARE ACCUSTOMED CHIEFLY TO RAISE MONUMENTS AND STATUES TO THE WARLIKE DEFENDERS OF THEIR COUNTRY, WILL ONE DAY HONOUR AMONGST THE HEROES WHO HAVE MOST SUCCESSFULLY CULTIVATED THE ARTS OF PEACE, AND BY HIGH TALENT AND PATIENT LABOUR HAVE RENDERED IT IMPOSSIBLE THAT MANKIND SHOULD NOT STEADILY ADVANCE IN THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE AND VIRTUE, AND IN THE CONSEQUENT AMELIORATION OF THE LOT OF EVERY MEMBER OF THE FAMILY OF MANKIND, AT SOME PERIOD, PRESENT OR REMOTE."—"*Caxton, a Biography,*" *by Charles Knight.*

FREQUENTLY as we read of the works of Caxton, and the early English Printers, and of their Black Letter Books, very few persons have ever had the opportunity of seeing any of these productions, and forming a proper estimate of the ingenuity and skill of those who first practiced the "Noble Art of Printing."

This reproduction of the first work printed by Caxton at Westminster, containing 23 woodcuts, is intended, in some measure, to supply this deficiency, and bring the present age into somewhat greater intimacy with *the Father of English Printers.* And as the profit which may be realised is to be devoted to the endowment of THE PRINTERS' ALMSHOUSES, *at Wood Green, Tottenham,* it is hoped that the perpetuation of Caxton's Work may be made the means of raising a tribute to his memory, by providing for the maintenance and comfort of a few of his disciples in the decline of life.

The Type has been carefully imitated, and the cuts traced from the copy in the British Museum. The Paper has also been made expressly, as near as possible like the original; and the Book will be accompanied by a few remarks of a practical nature, which have been suggested during the progress of the fount, and the necessary study and comparison of Caxton's Works with those of his cotemporaries in Germany, by Mr. VINCENT FIGGINS.

PUBLISHED BY VINCENT & JAMES FIGGINS, TYPE FOUNDERS, 17 & 18, WEST STREET, SMITHFIELD, LONDON;
AND TO BE HAD OF MESSRS. SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, STATIONERS' HALL COURT;
MR. HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN; AND MESSRS. MASTERS & Co., 33, ALDERSGATE STREET.

Upon receipt of a Post Office Order for Two Guineas or upwards, in favour of Mr. VINCENT FIGGINS, directed as above, the Book shall be immediately forwarded.

*** *The punches and matrices, and the fount of type—cut and cast expressly for this work—and all personal attention for its production, being supplied gratuitously by V. & J. Figgins, they think they may with confidence ask the Booksellers to relinquish the usual trade allowance upon the limited sale expected for a work of this character, so that the full benefit of the public patronage may be available for the Printers' Almshouses.*

LARGER SUBSCRIPTIONS THAN TWO GUINEAS WILL BE CARRIED TO THE CREDIT OF THE CHARITY IN FULL AS LIFE SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The Printers' Almshouses,

AT WOOD GREEN, TOTTENHAM.

THE Subscriptions for raising these Almshouses were commenced in the year 1841, and the foundation stone was laid under the auspices of the present Earl Stanhope, on the 11th of June, 1849.

The first two Rules of the Charity sufficiently express its objects and intentions:—

"I. The object of this Fund is to raise by Subscriptions and Donations a sufficient sum of money to insure the erection and endowment of an Asylum, and the Society shall be entitled 'The Printers' Almshouse Fund.'

"II. All persons who have been employed in a Printing Office, either as Compositors or Pressmen (having served seven years' apprenticeship, or entitled by patrimony), and Warehousemen, Machinists, Stereotype Founders, and Pickers (having worked seven years in one Printing Office or entitled by apprenticeship or patrimony as aforesaid), who have been subscribers, or their widows, shall be eligible to receive the benefits of this Society."

This charity, emanating from the body of the working printers, and brought to its present position almost entirely by their own contributions, is now retarded in its usefulness by the want of immediate funds for its completion.

Since the commencement of Subscriptions the sum of £3,000 has been expended in the purchase of land and the erection of Houses to accommodate twelve inmates—and in payment of some unavoidable Law expenses—but there is still a considerable sum required to provide for past engagements, for enclosing the Premises, and supplying the houses with water. As also for endowing the inmates with small Annuities, without which the Charity would be scarcely available for the superannuated workmen it is intended to benefit.

The Promoters and Friends of the Charity are still making their best efforts to raise Funds; but without external aid, it is feared that the much desired installation of some of the proposed inmates, will not be accomplished during the approaching summer. An appeal is therefore made for assistance to all those who benefit by the Art of Printing; and as this is without doubt an appeal to mankind at large, it is confidently hoped it will not be without success.

Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the

Treasurer,
MR. WILLIAM CLOWES, Stamford Street, Blackfriars.

Trustees,
MR. W. H. COX, 5, Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields,
MR. VINCENT FIGGINS, 17 and 18, West Street, West Smithfield,
MR. WILLIAM RIVINGTON, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell.

Bankers,
MESSRS. PRAED and CO., 189, Fleet Street.

Collector,
MR. C. POPE, 14, Derby Street, King's Cross.

MAY 1ST, 1855.